THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM

THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES.

BY

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1394

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

1394

CHAP. I.

SUCH was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histiæus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him that the matter might be thus explained: "You," says he, "made the shoe [1] which "Aristagoras has worn."

II. Histiæus

[1] *Made the shoe.*]—I have given a literal translation from the Greek,

II. Histiæus perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea: and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiæus was afterwards interrogated by the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aris-

Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking perhaps the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus, "You contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras, is our English one of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. Aristophanes in his Equites has this expression:

> *Ουκ, αλλ' οπερ πίνων ανηρ πεπονθ' οταν χεσειη*
> *Τεισι τροποις τοις σοισιν ωσπερ βλαυτιοισι χρωμαι.*

When the Greeks reclined upon their couches at meals and entertainments, they pulled off their sandals; if any one on any occasion wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work, to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application: for my own part I am well convinced, that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome, than an English antiquary would at first perhaps be willing to allow.—*T.*

tagoras,

tagoras to revolt, a circumſtance which had occaſioned the loſs of ſo many of their countrymen. His anſwer was inſidious, and calculated to impreſs the Ionians with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians [2] to Ionia, the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next meaſure was to ſend letters to certain Perſians at Sardis, with whom he had previouſly communicated on the ſubject of a revolt; theſe he entruſted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abuſed the confidence repoſed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himſelf with their contents, deſired Hermippus to deliver them according to their firſt directions, and then to give to him the anſwers intended for Hiſtiæus. In conſequence of the intelligence which he by theſe means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Perſians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Hiſtiæus failing in this project, prevailed on the

[2] *To remove the Phœnicians, &c.*]—It was the eaſier to make the Ionians credit this aſſertion, becauſe ſuch kind of tranſmigrations were frequent amongſt the Aſſyrians and Perſians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Aſia Minor: it would indeed be endleſs to enumerate all the tranſmigrations which were made by the command of thoſe people.—*Larcher.* We have already ſeen a great part of the Pæonians of Thrace removed into Aſia by order of Darius. See book v. ch. 15.—*T.*

Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Ariſtagoras, had already taſted the ſweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admiſſion to a ſecond maſter. Hiſtiæus attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was by ſome unknown hand wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again ſet ſail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refuſed to entruſt him with their fleet, he paſſed over to Mitylene*. Having from the Leſbians obtained the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his ſtation, and intercepted all the veſſels coming from the Euxine, except thoſe which conſented to obey him.

VI. Whilſt Hiſtiæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itſelf was threatened with a moſt formidable attack, both by ſea and land. The Perſian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of thoſe who aſſiſted them by ſea, the Phœnicians were the moſt alert; with theſe ſerved the Cyprians, who had been recently ſubdued, as well as the Cilicians and Ægyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the reſt of Ionia, they ſent delegates to the Panio-

* *Mitylene.*]—In the firſt book, chap. 160. it is written Mytilene: the difference is in the original.

nium.

nium[3]. The refult of their deliberations was, that they fhould by no means meet the Perfians by land; that the people of Miletus fhould vigoroufly defend their city; and that the allies fhould provide and equip every veffel in their power; that as foon as their fleet fhould be in readinefs they fhould meet at Lade[4], and rifque a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a fmall ifland immediately oppofite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and affembled at the place appointed; they were reinforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lefbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milefians furnifhed eighty veffels, which occupied the eaft wing; next to thefe were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Myufians with three fhips; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred veffels, and the Teians in

[3] *Panionium.*]—See chap. 148. of book the firft.—In my note upon this word, I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably fuggefted to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium.—

Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
Of fovran power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's found, throughout the hoft proclaim
A folemn council forthwith to be held
At PANDEMONIUM, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers. *T.*

[4] *Lade.*]—Paufanias informs us that this ifland was divided into two, one of which parts was called Afterius, from Afterius the fon of Anactes.—See book i. chap. 25.—*T.*

ſeventeen: beyond theſe were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ſhips. The Leſbians in ſeventy ſhips were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line, to the weſt, the Samians were poſted in ſixty ſhips: the whole fleet was compoſed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were poſſeſſed of ſix hundred veſſels: as ſoon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces alſo were arrived, the Perſian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adverſaries force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by ſea might at the ſame time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expoſe them to the reſentment of Darius. With theſe ſentiments, they called together thoſe Ionian princes who, being depoſed by Ariſtagoras, had taken refuge amongſt the Medes, and were preſent on this expedition.—They addreſſed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of "you now ſhew his zeal in the royal cauſe, by "endeavouring to detach from this confederacy his "own countrymen: allure them by the promiſe "that no puniſhment ſhall be the conſequence of "their revolt; that neither their temples nor other "edifices ſhall be burned; that their treatment ſhall "not in any reſpect be more violent than before. "If they perſevere in truſting to the event of a "battle, tell them that the contrary of all theſe "will aſſuredly happen;—themſelves ſhall be hur-

"ried

"ried into servitude, their youths castrated [5], their "daughters carried to Bactra [6], and their country "given to others."

[5] *Youths castrated.*]—We learn that castration was in a very early period of society inflicted as a punishment for various crimes. Diodorus Siculus, book i. chap. 78, speaking of the Ægyptians, has this passage:

"The laws with respect to women were remarkably severe; if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he had his private parts cut off; they were of opinion, that this one crime included three others of a heinous nature—injustice, defilement (και των τεκνων συγχυσιν) and confusion with respect to children."

Castration in many countries was the punishment of adultery; and by an edict of Justinian it was inflicted also on sodomites. Hume, in his History of England, gives the following extraordinary act of cruelty from Fitzstephen, which was perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry the Second.

"When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter."

Mr. Gibbon, relating this anecdote, subjoins, in his usual sarcastic style, "Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure."—*T.*

[6] *Bactra.*]—This place, though mentioned by Strabo and other ancient writers, as of great importance, and the capital of a province remarkable for its fertility, is now either entirely unknown, or a very insignificant place. Some are of opinion that its modern name is Termend; d'Anville thinks it is the city Balck.—Bactra is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ ditissima terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus
Laudibus Italiæ certent; non Bactra, neque Indi
Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis arena. *T.*

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were dispatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone.—Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had been appointed, and amongst the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows:—" Our affairs " are come to that delicate point [7], O Ionians, that " we

[7] *Delicate point.*]—Literally, " are upon the point of a razor." This passage is quoted by Longinus, sect. 22. as a happy ample of the hyperbaton, which he explains to be a transposition of words or sentiments out of the natural order of discourse, and implying extreme violence of passion.

The word *hyperbaton* is derived from υπερ beyond, and βαινω to go; and Pearce, in his notes upon Longinus, gives two examples of the use of this figure from Virgil:

Moriamur—et in media arma ruamus. *Æn.* ii. 348.

Me, me, adsum qui feci in me convertite ferrum. *Æn.* ix. 427.

Livy also has an expression similar to this of Herodotus:— " Jam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes."

Erasmus, in his Adagia, gives us three examples of this proverbial expression, from Homer, Sophocles, and Theocritus. That of Homer is in the tenth book of the Iliad, where Nestor says:

Νυν γαρ δε παντεσσιν επι ξυρυ ισαται ακμης
Η μαλα λυγρος ολεθρος Αχαιοις ηε βιωναι.

Which

"we muſt either be free men or ſlaves, and even "fugitive ſlaves. If you willingly ſubmit to the "trouble, your ſituation will at firſt be painful, but "having vanquiſhed your enemies, you will then "enjoy your liberties; if you ſuffer your vigour to "relax, or diſorder to take place amongſt you, I "ſee no means of your evading the indignation "with which the Perſian king will puniſh your "revolt. Submit yourſelves to my direction, and "I will engage, if the gods be but impartial, that "either the enemy ſhall not attack you at all, or, "if they do, it ſhall be greatly to their own detri- "ment."

XII. In conſequence of this ſpeech, the Ionians reſigned themſelves to the will of Dionyſius. Every day he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the uſe of the oars: he then taught them to manœuvre[8] their ſhips, keep-

Which Pope has rendered thus, diffuſely indeed, but with peculiar force and beauty, except in the ſecond line, which is rather flat:

But now the laſt deſpair ſurrounds our hoſt,
No hour muſt paſs, no moment muſt be loſt;
Each ſingle Greek in this concluſive ſtrife
Stands on *the ſharpeſt edge* of death or life. *T.*

[8] *To manœuvre.*]—Διεκπλοον ποιευμενος.—This paſſage Larcher renders thus: "He made them paſs betwixt the ranks, and quickly retreat." Erneſtus underſtands the expreſſion differently; it is certainly a nautical term, I have therefore preferred the interpretation which I think the words will admit, and which will certainly be more intelligible and ſatisfactory to the Engliſh reader.—*T.*

ing

ing the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay on their anchors[9]. Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur:—"We must

[9] *On their anchors.*]—The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore whilst they themselves were on land. When the centinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher.*

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the East make mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for king Hiero eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phœnicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says, they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had only one fluke or arm; the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow; but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. verse 29. that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."—*T.*

"surely,"

"surely," they exclaimed one to another "have "offended some deity, to be exposed to these hard-"ships; or we must be both absurd and pusillani-"mous, to suffer this insolent Phocæan, master of "but three vessels, to treat us as he pleases. Hav-"ing us in his power, he has afflicted us with va-"rious evils. Many of us are already weakened "by sickness, and more of us likely to become so. "Better were it for us to endure any calamities "than these, and submit to servitude, if it must be "so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us "obey him no longer." The discontent spread, and all subordination ceased; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade [10], would neither go on board, nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII.

[10] *Under the shade.*]—This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered that in all oriental climates both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repasts under shade.

From this circumstance the author of Observations on Passages of Scripture has taken occasion to explain an expression in Homer, which has greatly perplexed the commentators. It is in the soliloquy of Hector, who deliberating whether he shall meet his adversary unarmed, says amongst other things:

Ου μεν πως νυν εϛιν απο δρυος ϐδ' απο πετρης
Τῳ οαριζεμεναι. *Il.* xxii. 126.

Pope omits the word πετρης altogether, and renders it thus:

We greet not here, as man conversing man
Met at an oak, or journeying o'er a plain.

That

XIII. The Samian leaders, obferving what paffed amongft the Ionians, were more inclined to liften to the folicitations of the Perfians to withdraw from the confederacy: thefe folicitations were communicated to them by Æaces, the fon of Sylofon; and the increafing diforder which prevailed fo obvioufly amongft the Ionians added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Perfian monarch, fenfible that if the prefent naval armament of Darius were difperfed, a fecond, five times as formidable, would foon be at hand. Availing themfelves therefore of the firft refufal of the Ionians to perform their cuftomary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of fecuring their private and facred buildings. Æaces, to whofe remonftrance the Samians liftened, was fon of Sylofon, and grandfon of Æaces: he had formerly enjoyed the fupreme authority of Samos, but with the other Ionian princes, had been driven from his ftation by Ariftagoras.

XIV. Not long afterwards the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle enfued, but who amongft the Ionians on this occafion difgraced themfelves by their cowardice, or

That is, if the above interpretation be admiffible, "We do not meet here like men, who to take their repaft, or fhun the heat, accidentally and peaceably meet under the fhade of an oak." To many this may appear far-fetched and forced; but the explanation of Euftathius is perhaps not lefs fo.—*T.*

fignalized

signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally censure each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with Æaces, left their place in the line, and set sail for Samos. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column [11], which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians, seeing what was done by the Samians, next whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained, the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of an hundred vessels, each manned with four hundred chosen warriors.

[11] *Public column.*]—Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus, we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, upon which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—*T.*

They

They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres [12]. The Ephesians had heard nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed in-

[12] *Mysteries of Ceres.*]—The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterwards imitated at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea. Witness the abhorrence in which the criminality of Clodius in this instance was held by the more respectable part of his countrymen, and the very strong language applied against him by Cicero. This peculiarity is introduced with much humour and effect by Lucian, where speaking of two men, one remarkable for his attachment to boys, and another to women; "the house of the one," says he, "was crowded with beardless youths, of the other with dancing and singing women;" indeed (ως εν θεσμοφοριοις) as in the Thesmophoria there was not a male to be seen, except perhaps an infant, or an old cook too far advanced in years to excite jealousy.—See the edition of Hemsterhusius, vol. ii. 407.—*T.*

vaders,

vaders, and killed them all on the ſpot. Such was the end of theſe Chians.

XVII. Dionyſius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ſhips. He did not however go to Phocæa, as he well knew that muſt ſhare the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his courſe immediately to Phœnicia. He here made himſelf maſter of many veſſels richly laden, and a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, with which he ſailed to Sicily: here he exerciſed a piratical life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not moleſting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Perſians having thus routed the Ionians, laid cloſe ſiege to Miletus, both by ſea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every ſpecies of military machines againſt it. In the ſixth year after the revolt of Ariſtagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity the former prediction of the oracle was finally accompliſhed.

XIX. The Argives, having conſulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an anſwer which referred to themſelves in part, but which alſo involved the fortune of the Mileſians. Of what concerned the Argives, I ſhall make mention when I come to ſpeak of that people; what related to the abſent Mileſians, was conceived in theſe terms:—

Thou then, Miletus, vers'd in ill too long,
Shalt be the prey and plunder of the ſtrong;
Your wives ſhall ſtoop to waſh a long-hair'd[13] train,
And others guard our Didymæan fane.

Thus, as we have deſcribed, was the prediction accompliſhed. The greater part of the Mileſians were ſlain by the Perſians, who wear their hair long; their wives and children were carried into ſlavery; the temple at Didymus[14], and the ſhrine near the oracle, was conſumed by fire. Of the riches

[13] *Long-hair'd.*]—From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the Greeks to uſe female attendants for the offices of the bath. The paſſages in Homer which deſcribe the particulars of a cuſtom ſo contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement, are too numerous to be ſpecified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here. I find the following paſſage in Athenæus, which being leſs notorious, I inſert for the gratification of the Engliſh reader.

"Homer alſo makes virgins and women waſh ſtrangers, which they did without exciting deſire, or being expoſed to intemperate paſſion, being well regulated themſelves, and touching thoſe who were virtuous alſo: ſuch was the cuſtom of antiquity, according to which the daughters of Cocalus waſhed Minos, who had paſſed over into Sicily."—See *Athenæus*, i. 8. —*T.*

[14] *Didymus.*]—This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymean Apollo. Why Apollo was ſo named, is thus explained by Macrobius.

"Απολλωνα Διδυμαιον vocant quod geminam ſpeciem ſui numinis præfert ipſe illuminando, formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis gemino ſidere ſpatia diei et noctis illuſtrat, unde et Romani ſolem ſub nomine et ſpecie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur."

riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe[15], a city near that part of the Erythræn sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus[16].

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with the return from the people of Sybaris who had been

This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described.

As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place an ænigma on the day and night:

> Εισι κασιγνηται διτται ὧν ἡ μια τικτει
> Την ετεραν' αυτη δε τεκουσα παλιν γ'υπο ταυτης
> Τεκνουται.

These lines are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of Œdipus, their literal interpretation is this:—

"There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other."—*T.*

[15] *Ampe.*]—See what Bryant says on the terms Ampelus or Ampe, vol. i. 275-6.—*T.*

[16] *Pedasus.*]—This was also the name of one of the horses of Achilles.—See *Homer, Il.* xvi.—*T.*

 driven

driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their heads [17], and discovered every testimony of sorrow; for betwixt these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality [18] prevailed. The Athenians acted

[17] *Shaved their heads.*]—Consult Deuteronomy, chap. xxi. verse 13, from whence it seems that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow amongst the ancient Jews.—*T.*

[18] *Hospitality.*]—As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition, to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius*. The same word *Xenos*, which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, ix. ch. 11.) then became the term to express either an host, or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus*. (Ξενοδοχος.) In the Alcestis of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (Ξενων) or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1. between private individuals; 2. between private persons and states; 3. between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia*; public, *Proxenia*. Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomede, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (Δορυξενοι.) See *Hom. Il.* vi. 215. &c.—This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were called symbols, (Eurip. Medea, 613); afterwards,

acted very differently. The deſtruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneaſineſs, which was apparent from various circumſtances, and from the following in particular:—On ſeeing the capture of Miletus repreſented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus [19], the whole audience burſt into tears. The poet,

wards, when reduced to a kind of tickets, inſtead of preſents, αςραγαλοι or teſſeræ. *Plaut. Pœn.* act. v. ſc. 2.—Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was juſt dead; and is highly praiſed for it. *Eurip. Alceſt.*—Hoſpitality might however be renounced by a ſolemn form of abjuration, and yet after that might be renewed by a deſcendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades, a public hoſpitality had ſubſiſted; his grandfather had ſolemnly renounced it, but he by acts of kindneſs revived it again. See *Thucyd.* v. 43; vi. 89.—This circumſtance of renunciation has not been noticed, ſo far as I have ſeen, by any modern writers. See *Feithius Antiq. Homericæ*, iii. 12, 13. *Potter*, iv. 21.—Some of the ancient *teſſeræ* have been dug up at Rome and elſewhere. See *Thomaſinus de Teſſeris Hoſpitalitatis.*—The rights of ſuppliants were ſimilar to, and near connected with, thoſe of hoſpitality.

So Homer,

Ου μοι θεμις ες', ϗδ' ει κακιων σεθεν ελθοι,
Ξεινον ατιμησαι· προς γαρ Διος εισιν άπαντες
Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε. *Odyſſ.* xiv. 56.

The ſwain reply'd, It never was our guiſe
To ſlight the poor, or aught humane deſpiſe;
For Jove unfolds our hoſpitable door,
'Tis Jove that ſends the ſtranger and the poor. *Pope.*

T.

[19] *Phrynichus.*]—There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far diſtant from each other in time. The firſt, a tragic poet, the ſon of Polyphradmon; the ſecond, a writer of

 comedy;

poet, for thus reminding them of a domeſtic calamity, was fined a thouſand drachmæ, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus ſtripped of its ancient inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from ſatisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the conteſt with the Medes. After the event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of Æaces, they determined to remove, and found a colony, not chooſing to expoſe themſelves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of Æaces. About this period the Zancleans of Sicily ſent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte[20], wiſhing to found there an Ionian

comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the ſon of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all theſe particulars, yet aſcribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the firſt nor to the third. But in all probability it was the firſt and not the third whom Herodotus, and the numerous hiſtorians who copy him, mean to point out. The time in which he flouriſhed (for Suidas informs us that he gained his firſt victory in the ſixty-ſeventh Olympiad) makes this ſuppoſition the nearer to truth. Among the different plays attributed to our author, is one called either Πλεύρων, or Πλευρωνία, or Πλευρώνιαι. Fabricius and D'Orville are in great perplexity upon this weighty point, which might eaſily have been decided, if they had ſeen (as they ought to have ſeen) that inſtead of *ἐν δράμαΐι ἔδειξε Πλευρῶνι. Ε'ς κρυερὸν*, &c. it ought to be read, Πλευρωνίαις· Κρυερὸν, &c. which emendation every reader who conſults the paſſage will find to be neceſſary both for the ſenſe and ſyntax.—*T.*

[20] *Calacte.*]—Καλη ακτη, the beautiful coaſt.—See *D'Orville's Sicula*, xxii. 3.

8 « Poſtero

Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards Tyrrhenia. The Samians were the only Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri[21], the Zancleans,

" Postero die *amœnissimum littus*, et nullis scopulis impeditum e tam propinquo legimus, ut lapidis jactu id attingere possemus. Hinc ora hæc a Græcis fuit Καλη ακτη dicta et in his partibus urbs excitata fuit ab Ducetis Siculorum duce, et ab pulchro hoc litore Καλακτη coalito vocabulo nominata."

The learned author proceeds to prove, which he does incontestibly, that they who would read Calata, are certainly mistaken, nam oppida quibus Calata nomen Saracenæ et proinde recentioris originis, &c. Silius Italicus calls this place Piscosa Calacte, which term is applied by Homer to the Hellespont, Ιχθυοεντα.—*T.*

[21] *Epizephyrian Locri.*]—The Epizephyrian Locri were a colony from the Locri of Proper Greece, who migrating to Magna Græcia, took their distinctive name from the Zephyrian promontory, near which they settled. In Proper Greece there were the Locri Ozolæ, situated betwixt the Æolians and Phocæans, and so called, as Hoffman says, a gravitate odoris; the Locri Epi-Cnemidii, who resided in the vicinity of mount Cnemis; and the Locri Opuntii, who took their name from the city Opus.

In Plutarch's Greek Questions, I find this account of the Locri Ozolæ.

" Some affirm that these Locrians were called the Locri Ozolæ, from Nessus; others say they were so named from the serpent Python, which being cast on shore by the foam of the sea there putrified. Others assert, that these Locri wore for garments the skins of he-goats, and lived constantly amongst the herds of goats,

Zancleans[22], under the conduct of Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to Anaxilaus[23], prince of Rhegium:

goats, and from this became strong scented; whilst there are others who report of this country, that it brought forth many flowers, and that the people were called Ozolæ, from the grateful perfume which they diffused. Architas is one of those who asserts this last opinion. Athenæus in his first book, chap. xix. reckons the Epizephyrians amongst those who had a particular kind of dance appropriate to their nation.

"There were certain nations," says he, "who had dances peculiar to themselves, as the Lacedæmonians, the Trezerians, the *Epizephyrians*, the Cretans, the Ionians, and the Mantineans. Aristoxenus preferred the dances of the Mantineans to all the rest, on account of the quickness with which they moved their hands."

[22] *Zancleans.*]—Of all the cities of Sicily, this was the most ancient; it was afterwards named Messana, and now Messina.—See what Peter Burman says on this city, in his Commentaries on the "Urbium Siculæ numismata."—*D'Orville*, 290. The reader may there find a very ancient coin in which Zancle is represented by a dolphin in a semicircular position.

Consult also Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, page 107.

The Greeks called it Zancle, or the Sickle, from the supposition that the sickle of Saturn fell here, and occasioned its semicircular form. The Latins called it Messana or Messina, from Messis a harvest. Modern travellers describe the approach to this place from the sea as remarkably beautiful, and the harbour, which the promontory forms in the shape of a reaping-hook, as one of the finest in the world. Near the entrance of this harbour is the famous gulph of Charybdis, described by so many ancient writers; compare Homer, Odyss. xii. with Virgil, Æn. iii.—*T.*

[23] *Anaxilaus.*]—This personage constituted one of the subjects of controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, who disputed whether the Anaxilaus mentioned by Pausanias is the Anaxilaus

Rhegium[24]: he being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the Samians, persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, where they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; upon which, anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their

laus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Bentley, I think, proves beyond the possibility of dispute, that the three writers abovementioned spoke of the same person, and that the only difference was with respect to the time in which he was supposed to live. —*T.*

24 *Rhegium,*] now called Reggio. Its particular situation is thus described by Ovid;

> Oppositumque potens contra Zancleia saxa
> Ingreditur Rhegium.

Its name was taken απο τȣ ρηγῦναι, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phænomenon, is that of Virgil:

> Hæc loca vi quondam vastâ convulsa ruina
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
> Dissiluisse ferunt, &c. *Æn.* iii. 414.

Pliny, Strabo, and others affirm, that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's Sicula, page 560, where is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo, that the deities principally worshipped here, were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—*T.*

aſſiſtance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela[25]. He came with an army as deſired, but he put in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and ſent them to Inycus[26]. The reſt of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, upon terms agreed upon between them at a previous interview. Theſe terms were, that Hippocrates ſhould have half of the booty, and the ſlaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. The greater part of the Zancleans he put in chains, and treated as ſlaves, ſelecting three

[25] *Gela*]—I inform the reader once for all, that my intelligence concerning the Sicilian cities is derived principally from the intereſting work of D'Orville.

Gela was anciently a conſiderable city, and ſituated near the river of the ſame name; of the qualities of which Ovid thus ſpeaks:

> Præterit et Cyanen et fortem lenis Anapi
> Et te vorticibus non adeunde Gela.

Virgil calls it immanis:

> Immaniſque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

It was built by the inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete in conjunction; but whether the epithet *immanis* is applied by Virgil as deſcriptive of its greatneſs, may fairly be diſputed; D'Orville conſiders it as ſynonymous with *crudelis, effera*, &c. or elſe, as he afterwards adds, from its ſituation ad amnem vorticoſum et immanem. The ſymbol of this city on the Sicilian coins was a minotaur. Its modern name is Terra Nova. —*T.*

[26] *Inycus.*]—I find no mention of Inycus in D'Orville, but Heſychius has the expreſſion Ιυυκινος οινος; who adds that Inycus was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

hundred

hundred of the more diſtinguiſhed to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheleſs ſpared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, eſcaped from Inycus to Himera [27], from thence he croſſed over to Aſia, and preſented himſelf before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from Greece, Darius thought this man the moſt juſt; for having obtained the king's permiſſion to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Perſian court, where he happily paſſed the remainder of a very long life.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus poſſeſſed themſelves without any trouble of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the ſea-fight of which Miletus was the object, the Phœnicians were ordered by the Perſians to replace Æaces in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his ſervices. Of this city alone, of all thoſe which had revolted from the Perſians, the temples and public buildings were not burned, as a compenſation for its deſertion of the allies.

[27] *Himera.*]—Himera was a Grecian city, built, according to Strabo, by the Zancleans. It was anciently famous for its baths. It flouriſhed for a long time, till it was taken and plundered by the Carthaginians. There are two rivers of this name, which has occaſioned ſome perplexity to the geographers in aſcertaining the preciſe ſituation of the city here mentioned. It certainly emptied itſelf into the Tyrrhene ſea. Its modern name is Termini. I ſhould not omit mentioning that it was the birthplace of the lyric poet Steſichorus.—*T.*

After

After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria, some of its cities being taken by force, whilst others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiæus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine, when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus; he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son of Apolophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle, at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœloe *, and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians, not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued, advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna [28], of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens that when calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies [29]. Before this misfortune

* Εν Κοιλοισι.

[28] *Polichna.*]—The Latin versions render the Greek word πολιχνης, a small town; but Wesseling and Larcher are both of opinion, that it is the proper name of a town in the island of Chios.

[29] *Prodigies.*]—See Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cæsar:

Solem

tune of the Chians, some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—Of a band of one hundred youths

Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella
Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam
Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit
Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem, &c.

Georg. i. 464.

Consult also the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed by Warburton, in his Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakespear has made an admirable use of human superstition, with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in Macbeth:

Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,
That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
When living light should kiss it?——

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies, from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

" The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been

youths[30] whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long also before the great sea-fight the roof of a building fell in upon some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped: these warnings were sent them by the deity, for soon after happened the fight at sea, which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histiæus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histiæus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus[31], followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. Whilst he was before this place he learned that the Phœnicians,

been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air."

The quicquid Græcia mendax, audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insolence than justice; perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm, that there are more prodigies in Livy, than in all the Greek historians together.—*T.*

[30] *One hundred youths.*]—See Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. ii. 443.

[31] *Thasus.*]—This was a little island in the Ægean, on the Thracian coast, so called from Thasos, son of Agenor; it was anciently famous for its wine.—See Virgil Georg. ii. 91.

Sunt Thasiæ vites, &c. *T.*

leaving

leaving Miletus, were advancing againſt the reſt of Ionia. He without delay raiſed the ſiege of Thaſus, and with his whole army paſſed over to Leſbos; from hence, alarmed by the want of neceſſaries, he croſſed to the oppoſite continent, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of the corn which grew in Atarneum [32], and in the province of Caicus, belonging to the Myſians. Harpagus, a Perſian, was accidentally on this ſtation, at the head of a powerful army: a battle enſued by land, in which Hiſtiæus himſelf was taken priſoner, and the greater part of his forces ſlain.

XXIX. The capture of Hiſtiæus was thus effected: the engagement took place at Malena, in the diſtrict of Atarnis, and the Greeks made an obſtinate ſtand againſt the Perſians, till the cavalry pouring in amongſt them, they were unable to reſiſt the impreſſion. Hiſtiæus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt; and the deſire of life ſo far prevailed, that during the purſuit, when a Perſian ſoldier overtook and had raiſed his ſword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Perſian tongue, that he was Hiſtiæus the Mileſian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe [33] that if he had been

[32] *Atarneum*] was very fertile in corn, and peopled from the iſle of Chios, near which it was.

[33] *I am inclined to believe.*]—Valcnaer remarks on this paſſage, that humanity was one of the moſt conſpicuous qualities of Darius. The inſtances of his forgiving various individuals and nations,

been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared, and his fault forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had taken him, crucified [34] their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa: Darius on hearing this rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably intered, as belonging to a man who had deserved well of him and of Persia.—Such was the fate of Histiæus.

nations, against whom he had the justest reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histiæus, it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, preserved the person and army of Darius. But, perhaps, a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted, but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in the 84th chap. of book the 4th; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—*T.*

[34] *Crucified.*]—The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour the Gospels inform us, that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet.—This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time amongst the Assyrians, Ægyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—*T.*

XXXI.

XXXI. The Perſian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hoſtilities early in the ſpring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of theſe iſlands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner encloſed the inhabitants, as it were in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the ſea on the north, and thus chaſing the inhabitants, ſwept the whole iſland to the ſouth. They alſo made themſelves maſters of the Ionian cities on the continent, but they did not ſweep them in the ſame manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Perſian generals, when firſt oppoſed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as ſoon as they poſſeſſed their cities, they made eunuchs of their moſt beautiful youths, who were ſelected for this purpoſe. The lovelieſt of their maidens they ſent to the king, and they burned the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to ſervitude, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Perſians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced, and regularly ſubdued all the places to the left of the Helleſpont; thoſe on the right had already been reduced by the Perſian forces on the continent. The European ſide of the Helleſpont contains the Cherſoneſe, in which are a number of cities, Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on

 the

the remote parts of the coaſt, did not wait for the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but forſaking their country, retired to the interior parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Meſambria. The cities thus forſaken were burnt by the Phœnicians, who afterwards advanced againſt Prœconneſus and Artace; to theſe alſo they ſet fire, and returned to the Cherſoneſe, to deſtroy thoſe places from which in their former progreſs they had turned aſide. Cyzicus they left unmoleſted, the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, had ſubmitted to the king, through the mediation of Œbarus, governor of Daſcylium, and ſon of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phœnicians reduced all the other parts of the Cherſoneſe.

XXXIV. Before this period all theſe places were in ſubjection to Miltiades, ſon of Cimon, and grand-ſon of Steſagoras. This ſovereignty had originated with Miltiades the ſon of Cypſelus, in this manner:—This part of the Cherſoneſe was poſſeſſed by the Thracian Dolonci[35], who being involved in a troubleſome conteſt with the Abſinthians, ſent their leaders to Delphi, to enquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian in her anſwer recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony amongſt them, who on their leaving the temple ſhould firſt of all offer them the rites of hoſpitality. The Dolonci returning by

[35] *Dolonci.*]—So called from Doloncus, a ſon of Saturn.

the

the Sacred Way[36], paſſed through Phocis and Bœotia; not being invited by either of theſe people, they turned aſide to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the ſupreme authority of Athens was in the hands of Piſiſtratus[37]; but an important influence was alſo poſſeſſed by Miltia-

[36] *Sacred Way.*]—There was a very celebrated "Sacred Way," which led from Athens to Eleuſis, but this could not be the one intended in this place; it was probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the ſacred pomp to Delphi.—*Weſſeling.*

The deputations which were repeatedly ſent from the different ſtates and cities of Greece to the oracle at Delphi, bore in many inſtances a ſtrong reſemblance to the modern pilgrimages of the Mahometans, to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca.

There was a "Via Sacra" leading from Rome, which took its name from the ſolemn union which with the attendant ceremonies of ſacrifices here took place betwixt Romulus and Tatius, prince of the Sabines.—*T.*

[37] *Piſiſtratus.*]—I have made ſeveral remarks on Piſiſtratus, in the firſt volume of this work; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him amongſt thoſe ancients who were famous for collecting valuable libraries. "Larenſius," ſays Athenæus, "had more books than any of thoſe ancients who were celebrated for their libraries; ſuch as Polycrates of Samos, Piſiſtratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Necocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Ariſtotle the philoſopher, Theophraſtus, Neleus, who poſſeſſed the libraries of the two laſt-named, and whoſe deſcendants ſold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus."

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent ſpecimen of the amuſement and information to be gained by the peruſal of Athenæus.—*T.*

 des.

des. He was of a family which maintained four horses[38] for the Olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more recent times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sate before the door of his house[39], perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called to them: on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They ac-

38 *Four horses.*]—The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Ericthonius:

> Primus Ericthoneus currus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
> *Georg.* iii.

Of the passage "He maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich, for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

☞ In this kind of chariot race the four horses were ranged abreast; the two in the middle were harnessed to the yoke, the two side horses were fastened by their traces to the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—*See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games.*—*T.*

39 *Before the door of his house.*]—Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses, when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the East remark, that all the better houses have porches or gateways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage more to the present purpose in Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor:—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning we had in view several fine bays and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans *sitting by the doors*, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, &c."—*T.*

cepted

cepted his kindneſs, and being hoſpitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much diſpoſed to liſten to them, being weary of the tyranny of Piſiſtratus, and deſirous to change his ſituation: he immediately went to Delphi, to conſult the oracle whether he ſhould do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the ſanction of the oracle, Miltiades, ſon of Cypſelus, who had formerly at the Olympic games been victorious in the conteſt of the chariots drawn by four horſes, accompanied the Dolonci: he took ſuch of the Athenians as were willing to go with him, and arriving on the ſpot, was by thoſe who had invited him elected their prince. His firſt care was to fortify the iſthmus of the Cherſoneſe, from the city Cardia [40] as far as Pactya, to prevent any hoſtile incurſions on the part of the Abſinthians. At this point the length of the iſthmus is thirty-ſix furlongs; the extreme length of the Cherſoneſe, including the iſthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades blockading the entrance of the Cherſoneſe, and thus keeping out the Abſinthians, commenced hoſtilities with the people of Lampſacum; but they by an ambuſcade made him their priſoner. Intelligence of this event being

[40] *Cardia.*]—This place was ſo named from its reſemblance to a heart.—*T.*

communicated to Crœſus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great eſteem, he ſent to the Lampſacenes, requiring them to ſet him at liberty; threatening on their refuſal to deſtroy them like pines [41]. They deliberated amongſt themſelves concerning the meaning of this menace from Crœſus, which greatly perplexed them: at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them that of all the trees the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, ſhot out no more off-ſets, but totally periſhed. Intimidated by this threat of Crœſus, the Lampſacenes diſmiſſed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus eſcaped through the interpoſition of Crœſus; but dying afterwards without iſſue, he left his authority and wealth to Steſagoras, ſon of Cimon, his uterine brother. Upon his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Cherſoneſe with the marks of eſteem uſually

[41] *Like pines.*]—From the time of Herodotus this expreſſion paſſed into a proverb, denoting a final deſtruction, without any poſſibility of flouriſhing again.

In nothing was the acuteneſs and learning of our Bentley more apparent, than in his argument againſt the genuineneſs of the epiſtles aſcribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expreſſion of Herodotus.—See his Diſſertation, laſt edit. 122. "A ſtrange piece of ſtupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley's words) or elſe contempt of his readers, to pretend to aſſume the garb and perſon of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him. What is here individually aſcribed to the pine-tree, is applicable to other trees; ſuch as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypreſs, &c. which all periſh by lopping."—*T.*

paid

paid to the founder of a place; equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically observed in his honour, in which none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterwards happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacum, Stesagoras also died, and without children: he was wounded in the head, whilst in the Prytaneum, with a blow from an ax. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy [42].

XXXIX. After the death of Stesagoras, as above described, the Pisistratidæ dispatched in a trireme Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of

[42] *Determined enemy.*]—I cannot better introduce than in the midst of a digression like the present, the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity, it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention, it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity, and is perhaps the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity.—It is preserved in Winchester college, in the first leaf of Stevens's edition of Herodotus; and to add to its value, is in Swift's own hand-writing.

Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto.

"Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit; exceptis paucissimis (ut mea fert sententia) omni modo excusandum; cæterum diverticulis abundans hic pater historicorum filum narrationis ad tædium abrumpit, unde oritur, ut par est legentibus, confusio et exinde oblivio.—Quin et forsan ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent.—Quod ad cætera hunc scriptorem inter apprime laudandos censeo neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum—in orationibus fere brevem, simplicem nec nimis frequentem.—Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire potuerit."—*T.*

the deceaſed Steſagoras, to take the government of the Cherſoneſe. Whilſt he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindneſs, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I ſhall relate in another place. Miltiades, as ſoon as he landed in the Cherſoneſe, kept himſelf at home, as if in ſorrow[43] for his brother: which being known, all the principal perſons of the Cherſoneſe aſſembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public proceſſion, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he ſecured the poſſeſſion of the Cherſoneſe, maintaining a body of five hundred guards.—He then married Hegeſipyla, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace.

XL. The ſon of Cimon had not been long in the Cherſoneſe, before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scythian

[43] *As if in ſorrow.*]—This paſſage has greatly perplexed all the commentators. It is certain that the word επιτιμεῶν, as it now ſtands in the text, is wrong, but it is by no means clear what it ought to be; Valcnaer wiſhes to read ετι πενθεων, which ſeems very ſatisfactory in itſelf, and beſt agrees with the context, where it is ſaid the great men went to condole with him (συλλυπηθησομενοι). Weſſeling is inclined to read επιτυμβιον, as if to bury him: Larcher, differing from all theſe readings, renders it "under pretence of doing honour to his memory;" which ſeems of all others the moſt difficult to juſtify, and to reſt only on the far-fetched idea, that during the time of mourning people confined themſelves to their apartments.—*T.*

thian Nomades being incenſed againſt Darius, aſſembled their forces, and advanced to the Cherſoneſe. Miltiades, not venturing to make a ſtand againſt them, fled at their approach; when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, reſtored him.

XLI. The ſame Miltiades, on being informed that the Phœnicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and ſailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, croſſed the gulph of Melas, and paſſing the Cherſoneſe, he himſelf, with four of his veſſels, eluded the Phœnician fleet, and eſcaped to Imbros [44]; the fifth was purſued and taken by the enemy, it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldeſt ſon of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by ſome other female. The Phœnicians, on learning that he was the ſon of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting ſome conſiderable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wiſhed them to break down their bridge of boats, and return home. Darius, however, ſo far from treating Metiochus with ſeverity, ſhewed him the greateſt kindneſs; he gave him a houſe, with ſome property, and married him

[44] *Imbros.*]—This was an iſland of the Ægean, betwixt Lemnos and the Thracian Cherſoneſe; it was anciently famous for producing a prodigious number of hares.—Its modern name is Imbro.—*T.*

to a woman of Persia: their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens: the Persians executed this year no farther hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into parasangs (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs) by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders: he was the son of Gobryas, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable body of land and sea-forces; arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of the fleet: the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which

will

will hardly obtain credit with thoſe Greeks who are unwilling to believe that Otanes, in the aſſembly of the ſeven conſpirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be moſt for the advantage of Perſia:—for Mardonius, removing the Ionian princes from their ſtation, every where eſtabliſhed a democracy. He then proceeded towards the Helleſpont, where collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he paſſed them over the Helleſpont in ſhips, and proceeded through Europe, towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. Theſe two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as poſſibly he could. By ſea he ſubdued the Thaſians, who attempted no reſiſtance; by land his army reduced all thoſe Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this ſide had been reduced before. Leaving Thaſos, he coaſted by the oppoſite continent as far as Acanthus; from Acanthus, paſſing onwards, he endeavoured to double mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempeſtuous wind aroſe from the north, which preſſing hard upon the fleet, drove a great number of ſhips againſt mount Athos. He is ſaid on this occaſion to have loſt three hundred veſſels, and more than twenty thouſand men: of theſe, numbers were deſtroyed by the ſea-monſters, which abound off the coaſt near Athos, others were daſhed on the rocks, ſome loſt their lives from their inability to ſwim, and many periſhed by the cold.

XLV. Whilst Mardonius with his land forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi [45] of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians, for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the Brygi, but still more by the tempest off Athos [46]; his return, therefore, to Asia, was far from being glorious.

XLVI.

[45] *Brygi.*]—See book vii. chap. 73, by which it appears, that these Brygi were the Phrygians.—See also Valcnaer's note on this word.—*T.*

[46] *Athos.*]—"We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Haion Horos, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amouliane, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulph of Salonica is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos: over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though

XLVI. In the following year Darius having received intelligence from their neighbours that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histiæus of Miletus; as therefore they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptesyla [47] they obtained upon an average eighty talents; Thasus itself did not produce so much, but they were on the whole so affluent, that being generally exempt from taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and in the times of greatest abundance three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen; the most valuable are those discovered by the Phœni-

though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep rocky height, covered with pine-trees.—If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues."—*Pococke*, vol. ii. 145.

47 *Scaptesyla.*]—In the Greek it is in two words, Σκαπτη ὑλη, the wood of Scapte. Thus in a former chapter, the beautiful coast Καλη ακτη, or Calacte.—See also Virgil, Æneid vii. 208:

> Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur. *T.*

cians,

cians, who, under the conduct of Thaſus, firſt made a ſettlement in this iſland, and named it from their leader. The mines ſo diſcovered are betwixt a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra. Oppoſite to Samothracia is a large mountain, which, by the ſearch after mines, has been effectually overturned.

XLVIII. The Thaſians, in obedience to the will of Darius, deſtroyed their walls, and ſent their ſhips to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to aſcertain whether they were inclined to ſubmit to or reſiſt his power, Darius ſent emiſſaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water[48]. The cities on the coaſt who paid him tribute, he ordered to conſtruct veſſels of war, and tranſports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time theſe latter were preparing the king's envoys arrived in Greece: moſt of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the iſlanders whom the meſſengers viſited, and amongſt others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hoſtile intentions towards them, which in conjunc-

[48] *Earth and water.*]—See in what manner the people of Athens and Lacedæmon treated theſe meſſengers, in book the ſeventh.

tion

tion with the Persians they were resolved to execute. They eagerly therefore embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

L. Instigated by their report, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts upon his countrymen. He told him that his conduct was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; upon being told, "Well "then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip "your horns with brass[49], and prepare to resist "some great calamity."

LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son

[49] *Your horns with brass.*]—In allusion to his name Κριος, which signifies a ram.—See a remarkable verse in the first book of Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 11.

"And Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, made him *horns of iron:* and he said, Thus saith the Lord, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."—*T.*

of

of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch; both had the same origin, but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia was daughter of Autesion, grand-daughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Thersander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. She brought her husband twins, whom when he had seen he died by some disease. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their law required. They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other[50]. In this perplexity, they applied

[50] *Resembled each other.*]—Upon the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the Menæchmi of Plautus, and the Comedy of Errors of Shakespeare, are made to depend:

Mercator quidam fuit Syracusis senex,
Ei sunt nati filii gemini duo,
Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
Non internosse posset quæ mammam dabat, &c.

Prologus ad Menæch.

There

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plied to the mother, ſhe alſo profeſſed herſelf unable to decide: her ignorance however was only pretended, and aroſe from her wiſh to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus rem ining, they ſent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the firſt-born the moſt. Receiving this anſwer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were ſtill unable to diſcover the firſt-born child, till a Meſſenian, whoſe name was Panites, adviſed them to take notice which child the mother waſhed and fed firſt: if ſhe was conſtant in making a diſtinction, they might reaſonably conclude they had diſcovered what they wiſhed; if ſhe made no regular preference in this reſpect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in queſtion was probably unaffected, and they muſt have recourſe to other meaſures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Meſſenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Ariſtodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconſcious of their deſign, regularly preferring her firſt-born, both in waſhing and feeding it, they reſpected this ſilent teſtimony of the mother. The child

> There ſhe had not been long, but ſhe became
> A joyful mother of two goodly ſons;
> And, which was ſtrange, the one ſo like the other
> As could not be diſtinguiſh'd, &c. *Comedy of Errors.*

It ſeems unneceſſary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which in Shakeſpeare's time tranſlations in the different languages of Europe were eaſily to be obtained.—*T.*

thus

thus preferred by its parent they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expence, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity.

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece.—The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity; from which account it plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than Perseus, for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived, being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphitryon. I am therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Ægyptian origin [51].—Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

LIV.

[51] *Ægyptian origin.*]—According to Herodotus, all the principal persons of the Dorian family upwards, were in a direct line from Ægypt. The same author says, that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. The like is said, and with great truth, of the Heraclidæ, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the Achæmenidæ of Persia. The Persians therefore, and the Grecians, were

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth, becoming afterwards a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus [52], being Ægyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

LV. In what manner, being Ægyptians, they became the princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate: but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian [53] and of the celestial Ju-

were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea; but the latter came last from Ægypt. *Bryant*, vol. iii. 388.

[52] *No consanguinity with Perseus.*]—Herodotus more truly represents Perseus as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian, and agreeably to this he is said to have married Asterie, the daughter of Belus, the same as Astaroth and Astarte of Canaan, by whom he had a daughter, Hecate. This, though taken from an idle system of theology, yet plainly shews that the history of Perseus had been greatly misapplied and lowered by being inserted among the fables of Greece, &c.

Bryant, vol. ii. 64.

[53] *Lacedæmonian.*]—Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed, that the office of priesthood and king were anciently united in the same person.——*T.*

 piter,

piter[54] were appropriated to them: they had the power alſo of making hoſtile expeditions wherever they pleaſed, nor might any Spartan obſtruct them without incurring the curſes of their religion. In the field of battle their poſt is in the front; when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred choſen men[55] as a guard for their perſon: when upon their march, they may take for their uſe as many ſheep as they think proper, and they have the back[56]

[54] *Celeſtial Jupiter.*]—This epithet was, I ſuppoſe, given to Jupiter, becauſe the ſky was conſidered as his particular department.—See the anſwer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

> Three brother deities from Saturn came,
> And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame:
> Aſſign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;
> Infernal Pluto ſways the ſhades below;
> O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the ſtarry plain,
> Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain;
> My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> And huſh the roarings of the ſacred deep. *T.*

[55] *Hundred choſen men.*]—In times of peace, the Lacedæmonian princes were not attended by guards; Thucydides ſays, that in war they had three hundred.—*T.*

[56] *The back.*]—By the back we muſt underſtand the chine; and we learn as well from Homer, as other ancient writers, that it was always conſidered as the honourable portion. See Odyſſey, book iv. where Telemachus viſits Menelaus at Sparta:

> Ceaſing benevolent, he ſtrait aſſigns
> The royal portion of the choiceſt *chines*
> To each accepted friend.

See alſo the Iliad, book vii.

> The king himſelf, an honorary ſign,
> Before great Ajax plac'd the mighty *chine.* *T.*

and

and the ſkin[57] of all that are ſacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace alſo they have many diſtinctions. In the ſolemnity of any public ſacrifice, the firſt place is always reſerved for the kings, to whom not only the choiceſt things are preſented, but twice as much as to any other perſon[58]. They have moreover

[57] *The ſkin.*]—Theſe ſkins we find were allotted to the princes during the time of actual ſervice, when, as their reſidence was in tents, they muſt have been of the greateſt ſervice both as ſeats and as beds.—See Leviticus, vii. 8. where it appears that the prieſt had the ſkin.

" And the prieſt that offereth any man's burnt-offering, even the prieſt ſhall have to himſelf the ſkin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered."

They were ſerviceable alſo in another reſpect, as they were made into bottles to preſerve wine, and to carry liquids of different kinds. Of ſkins alſo the firſt cloaths were made.—*T.*

[58] *Twice as much as to any other perſon.*]—Inſtances of this mode of ſhewing reverence and diſtinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat and wine than any other perſon. Agamemnon alſo, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the reſt. Benjamin's meſs was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon obſerves, that Lycurgus did not aſſign a double portion to the kings, becauſe they were to eat twice as much as any body elſe, but that they might give it to whom they pleaſed. We find from Homer, that this alſo was a common practice during the repaſt, to give of their own portion to ſome friend or favourite. Accordingly in the Odyſſey, we find in ſome very beautiful lines, that Ulyſſes gave a portion of the chine reſerved for himſelf to Demodocus, " The Bard of Fame."

over the firſt of every libation [59], and the ſkins of the ſacrificed victims. On the firſt and ſeventh of every month, they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is ſacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian quart of wine [60]. In the public games, they ſit in the moſt diſtinguiſhed place [61]; they appoint whomſoever they pleaſe to the dignity

The bard an herald guides: the gazing throng
Pay low obeiſance as he moves along
Beneath a ſculptur'd arch he ſits enthron'd,
The peers encircling, form an awful round:
Then from the chine Ulyſſes carves with art,
Delicious food, an honorary part.
"This let the maſter of the lyre receive,
"A pledge of love, 'tis all a wretch can give:
"Lives there a man beneath the ſpacious ſkies
"Who ſacred honours to the bard denies?" &c. *T.*

59 *Libation.*]—The ceremony of offering a libation was this: When, previous to ſacrifice, the ſacred meal mixed with ſalt was placed upon the head of the victim, the prieſt took the veſſel which held the wine, and juſt taſting it himſelf, gave it to thoſe near him to taſte alſo: it was then poured upon the head of the beaſt betwixt the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Moſaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus, xxix. 40.—*T.*

60 *Medimnus of meal—quart of wine.*]—

"Then ſhall he that offereth an offering unto the Lord bring a meat-offering of a tenth-deal of flour, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.

"And the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering ſhalt thou prepare, with the burnt-offering, or ſacrifice."—Numbers, xv. 4, 5.

61 *Moſt diſtinguiſhed place.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that wherever

dignity of Proxeni [62], and each of them chooses two Pythii. The Pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expence as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two chœnices of meal with a cotyla of wine are sent to their respective houses; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shewn them. The oracular declarations are preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only: They choose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her: they have the care of the public ways; whoever chooses to adopt a child [63], must do it in the pre-

wherever the kings appeared every body rose, out of reverence to their persons, except the Ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—*T.*

[62] *Proxeni.*]—It was the business of the Proxeni to entertain the ambassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

[63] *Adopt a child.*]—The custom of adoption amongst the Romans was much more frequent than amongst the Greeks, though borrowed of the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child; and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors, the permission of the prince was sufficient.—*T.*

fence of the kings. They aſſiſt at the deliberations of the ſenate, which is compoſed of twenty-eight perſons. In caſe of their not appearing, thoſe ſenators who are the neareſt relations to the kings take their places and privilege, having two voices independent of their own.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes whilſt alive; they have others after their deceaſe. Meſſengers are ſent to every part of Sparta to relate the event, whilſt through the city the women beat on a caldron [64]. At this ſignal, one free-born perſon of each ſex is compelled under very heavy penalties to disfigure themſelves. The ſame ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians obſerve on the death of their kings, are practiſed alſo by the Barbarians of Aſia; the greater part of whom on a ſimilar occaſion uſe theſe rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged

[64] *The women beat a drum.*]—A very curious incident relative to this circumſtance is given us by Ælian, in his Various Hiſtory. The Lacedæmonians having ſubdued the Meſſenians, took to themſelves the half of all their property, and compelled their free-born women, εις τα πενθη βαδιζειν, to walk in the funeral proceſſions, and to lament at the deaths of thoſe with whom they were not at all connected.

Women who were free born never appeared at funerals, except at thoſe of their relations, much leſs did they lament like the women hired for this purpoſe, which we find from the above paſſage the Lacedæmonians compelled the Meſſenian women to do. It is to be obſerved, that the women were much more rigorouſly ſecluded in Greece than in Rome.—*T.*

from

from all parts of Lacedæmon to attend his funeral. When these, together with the Helots[65] and Spartans, to the amount of several thousands, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts, to make loud and dismal lamentations[66], always exclaiming of their last prince that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings die in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment upon a bier richly adorned. When it is buried, there is an interval of ten days from all

[65] *Helots.*]—The Helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest. They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town; their slavery was rigorous in the extreme, but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. Upon them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, whilst their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises or in feasting. For a more particular account of them, consult Cragius de Republica Lacedæmon. and Archbishop Potter.—*T.*

[66] *Lamentations.*]—This custom still prevails in Ægypt, and in various parts of the East. "When the corpse," says Dr. Russel, "is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first, next come the male friends, and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men's shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks."

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations and female friends in Ægypt surround the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in "Observations on Scripture," vol. iii. 408, 9.—*T.*

business and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Ægypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence:—Ariston succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives, but had children by neither; not willing to believe that any defect existed on his part, he married a third time. He had a friend a native of Sparta, to whom on all occasions he shewed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who from being

remarkable for her uglineſs [67], became exceeedingly beautiful. When an infant her features were very plain and diſagreeable, which was a ſource of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence [68]. Her nurſe ſeeing this, recommended thet ſhe ſhould every day be carried to the temple of Helen, ſituate in a place called Therapne, near the temple of Apollo. Here the nurſe regularly preſented herſelf with the child, and ſtanding near the ſhrine implored the goddeſs to remove the girl's deformity. As ſhe was one day departing from the temple, a woman is ſaid to have appeared to her, enquiring what ſhe carried in her arms: the nurſe replied, it was a child. She deſired to ſee it; this the nurſe, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at firſt refuſed, but ſeeing that the woman perſevered in her wiſh, ſhe at length complied. The ſtranger, taking the infant in her arms, ſtroaked it on the face, ſaying, that hereafter ſhe ſhould become the lovelieſt woman of Sparta; and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus ſon of Alcides, and the friend of Ariſton, made her his wife.

[67] *Remarkable for her uglineſs.*]—Pauſanias ſays, that from being remarkable for her uglineſs, ſhe became the moſt beautiful woman in Greece, υπο Ελενης, next to Helen.—*T.*

[68] *Great affluence.*]—How was it poſſible, aſks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions amongſt the citizens, and gold and ſilver were prohibited under penalty of death.

LXII.

LXII. Ariſton, inflamed with a paſſion for this woman, took the following means to obtain his wiſhes: he engaged to make her huſband a preſent of whatever he would ſelect from his effects, on condition of receiving a ſimilar favour in return. Agetus having no ſuſpicion with reſpect to his wife, as Ariſton alſo was married, agreed to the propoſal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariſton accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he choſe, whilſt he in return, having previouſly determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus ſaid, that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he reſigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariſton, having repudiated his ſecond wife, married a third, who in a very ſhort time, and within a leſs period than ten months[69], brought him this Demaratus. Whilſt the

[69] *Within a leſs period than ten months.*]—This, it ſeems, was thought ſufficient cauſe to ſuſpect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable, that ten months is the period of geſtation generally ſpoken of by the ancients.—See Plut. in the Life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, Ecl. iv.

Matri longa *decem* tulerunt faſtidia *menſes*.

A. Gellius, who gives a curious diſſertation on the ſubject, l. iii. cap. 16, ſeems to pronounce very poſitively, that it was ten months fully completed; decem menſes non inceptos ſed exactos; but we ſhould take the whole ſentence together—eumque eſſe hominem gignendi *ſummum finem*, decem menſes non inceptos

the father was fitting at his tribunal, attended by the Ephori, he was informed by one of his domeftics of the delivery of his wife: reflecting on the interval of time which had elapfed fince his marriage, he reckoned the number of months upon his fingers, and faid with an oath, "This child is "not mine." The Ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment efteem what he faid of any importance [70]: afterwards, when the child grew up, Arifton changed his fentiments concerning the legitimacy of his fon, and repented of the words

ceptos fed exactos. This I underftand as if he had written, "but that the *utmoft* period (not the *ufual*) is when the tenth month is not only begun, but completed;" namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterwards a decifion of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh; this however the emperor fet afide, as not being an infallible rule. It appears then, that the ancients, when they fpoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they exprefs themfelves fo as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is becaufe they ufually reckoned inclufively. The difference between folar and lunar months, to which fome have had recourfe, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates fpeaks varioufly of the period of geftation, but feems to reckon the longeft 280 days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Perfians, in the time of Zoroafter, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Paftoret, in a Treatife on Zoroafter, Confucius, and Mahomet. —*T.*

70 *Of any importance.*]—The inattention or indifference of the Ephori in this inftance muft appear not a little remarkable, when it is confidered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the poffibility of any children fucceeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T.*

which

which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name * to the following circumstance: Before he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should lose him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connection with Leotychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leotychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs upon Ægina. Leotychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon, grand-daughter of Demarmenes, but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Percalos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He

* *Owed his name*;]—which means prayed for by the people, being compounded of *Demos* the people, and *aretos* prayed for. —*T.*

asserted,

asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was, consequently, careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. Upon this incident Leotychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal[71]; to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those Ephori who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired[72]. The name of this woman was

71 *Was illegal.*]—This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias, book iii. c. 4; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, book iii. chap. 8.—*T.*

72 *To say what Cleomenes desired.*]—It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient

was Perialla, who, to thoſe ſent on this occaſion, denied that Demaratus was the ſon of Ariſton. This colluſion being afterwards diſcovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perialla was degraded from her office.

LXVII. Such were the meaſures taken to de-

ſufficient to involve a whole kingdom in miſery and blood: of this the fate of Crœſus, as recorded in the firſt book of Herodotus, is a memorable inſtance; but I have before me an example, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, where this artifice and ſeduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the prieſteſs of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience, which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legiſlator immortal. Demoſthenes alſo, in one of his orations againſt Philip, accuſes that monarch of ſeducing by bribes the oracle to his purpoſe. However the truth of this may be eſtabliſhed from many well-authenticated facts, the following picture from Lucan, of the prieſteſs of Delphi under the ſuppoſed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applauſe and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the ſpirit which prompted ſuch impoſtures:

Tandem conterrita virgo
Confugit ad tripodas, vaſtiſque adducta cavernis
Hæſit, et inſueto concepit pectore numen,
Quod non exhauſtæ per tot jam ſæcula rupis,
Spiritus ingeſſit vati: tardemque potitus
Pectore Cirrhæo, non unquam plenior artus
Phœbados irrupit Pæan, mentemque priorem
Expulit, atque hominem toto ſibi cedere juſſit
Pectore. Bacchatur demens aliena pe antrum
Colla ferens, vittaſque dei, Phœbeaque ſerta
Erectis diſcuſſa comis, per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, ſpargitque vaganti
Obſtantes tripodas, magnoque exæſtuat igne. T.

prive

prive Demaratus of his dignity: an affront which was afterwards shown him, induced him to take refuge amongst the Medes. After the loss of his throne he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and happened to be present at the Gymnopædia[73]. Leotychides, who had been elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied, that he himself had experienced both, which the person who asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled, he retired from the theatre to his own house; where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words: "I call upon you, "mother, in the name of all the gods, and in particular by Jupiter Hercæus[74], in whose imme- "diate

[73] *Gymnopædia.*]—This word is derived from γυμνος, naked, and παις, a child; at this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain correspanding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—*T.*

[74] *Jupiter Hercæus.*]—Jupiter was worshipped under this title, as the Deus Penetralis, the protector of the innermost recesses

"diate presence we are, to tell me, without disguise, "who my father was. Leotychides, in the spirit of "hatred and jealousy, has objected to me, that "when you married Ariston you were with child "by your former husband: others more insolently "have asserted, that one of your slaves, an ass- "driver, enjoyed your familiarity, and that I am "his son; I entreat you, therefore, by every thing "sacred, to disclose the truth. If you have really "done what is related of you, your conduct is not "without example, and there are many in Sparta "who believe that Ariston had not the power of "becoming a father; otherwise, they say, he must "have had children by his former wives."

LXIX. His mother thus replied: "My son, as "you have thus implored me to declare the truth, "I will not deceive you. When Ariston had con- "ducted me to his house, on the third night of our "marriage, a personage appeared [75] to me perfectly "resembling

cesses of the house: he was so called from Ερκος, which signifies the interior part of a house. Larcher quotes at this passage the following words, from Servius on Virgil.

"Dictus autem Jupiter Hercæus quia ana ejus erat intra aulam, et septum parietem edificata quod Græce Ἕρκος dicitur." —*T.*

[75] *A personage appeared.*]—This story in many respects bears a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant and

" resembling Ariston, who after enjoying my per-
" son, crowned me with a garland [76] he had in his
" hand, and retired. Soon afterwards Ariston came
" to me, and seeing me with a garland, enquired
" who gave it me; I said that he had, but this he
" seriously denied: I protested, however, that he
" had; and, I added, it was not kind in him to
" deny it, who, after enjoying my person, placed
" the garland on my head. Ariston, seeing that

and superstitious, and was afterwards confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made, than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:

> The song began from Jove,
> Who left his blissful seats above;
> Such is the power of mighty Love:
> A dragon's fiery form belied the god;
> Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
> When he to fair Olympia press'd;
> And while he sought her snowy breast,
> Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
> And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia whilst she slept, after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection.—*T.*

[76] *Crowned me with a garland.*]—We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gaiety of the moment, it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another:

> Huic si forte bibes, sortem concede priorem
> Huic detur capiti dempta corona tuo. *T.*

" I persevered in my story, was satisfied that there " had been some divine interposition [77]; and this " opinion was afterwards confirmed, from its ap- " pearing that this garland had been taken from " the shrine of the hero Astrobacus, which stands " near the entrance of our house; and indeed a " soothsayer declared, that the personage I speak " of was that hero himself.—I have now, my son, " told you all that you wished to know; you are " either the son of Astrobacus, or of Ariston, for " that very night I conceived. Your enemies parti- " cularly object to you, that Ariston, when he first " heard of your birth, declared in the presence of " many that you could not possibly be his son, as " the time of ten months was not yet compleated; " but he said this from his ignorance of such mat- " ters. Some women are delivered at nine, others " at seven months; all do not go ten. I was de-

[77] *Divine interposition.*]—Innumerable instances occur in ancient history, from which we may conclude, that the passions of intemperate but artful men did not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance and superstitious credulity, with which the heathen world was overspread, to accomplish their dishonest purposes. It were endless to specify examples in all respects resembling this before us; but it may seem wonderful, that their occurring so very often did not tend to awaken suspicion, and interrupt their success. Some licentious minister of the divine personage in question might easily crown himself with a consecrated garland, avail himself of an imputed resemblance to the husband of the woman who had excited his passion, and with no greater difficulty prevail on a brother priest to make a declaration, which at the same time softened the crime of the woman, and gratified her vanity.—*T.*

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"livered of you at ſeven; and Ariſton himſelf after-
"wards confeſſed that he had uttered thoſe words
"fooliſhly.—With regard to all other calumnies,
"you may ſafely deſpiſe them, and rely upon what
"I have ſaid. As to the ſtory of the aſs-driver,
"may the wives of Leutychides, and of thoſe who
"ſay ſuch things, produce their huſbands children
"from aſs-drivers."

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wiſhed, took ſome proviſions, and departed for Elis; he pretended, however, that he was gone to conſult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians ſuſpected, and purſued him. Demaratus had already croſſed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians ſtill following him, ſeized his perſon and his ſervants; theſe they carried away, but the Zacynthians refuſing to let them take Demaratus, he paſſed over to Aſia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and preſented with many lands and cities.—Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man diſtinguiſhed amongſt his countrymen by many memorable deeds and ſayings; and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta [78], obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horſes.

[78] *Alone, of all the kings of Sparta.*]—At this paſſage, Valcnaer remarks, that theſe Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Ageſilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, ſaid, that the victories at theſe games were carried rather by riches than by merit.—*T.*

LXXI. Leutychides the ſon of Menaris, who ſucceeded Demaratus after he had been depoſed, had a ſon named Zeuxidamus, called by ſome of the Spartans Cyniſcus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but dying before his father, left a ſon named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loſs of his ſon, took for his ſecond wife Eurydame, ſiſter of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris; by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: ſhe, by the conſent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, ſon of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not ſpent in Sparta; but the cauſe of Demaratus was in this manner avenged:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition againſt Theſſaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but ſuffering himſelf to be bribed by a large ſum of money, he was detected in his own camp, ſitting on a ſack of money [79]. Being brought to a public

[79] *Sack of money.*]—"In the more ancient manuſcripts," ſays Weſſeling, "theſe two words were probably joined together, in this manner, χειριδιπλεη; whence the copyiſts made theſe two χειρι διπλεη, or διπλῆ, when it ought to have been χειριδι πλεῆ."

Various errors of a ſimilar kind have crept into modern editions of ancient books. I give one remarkable inſtance from Buchanan.

In the laſt chorus of the Alceſtes, it was formerly read,

Και τον εν χαλυβοισι
Δαμαζεις ϐ βιᾳ σιδαρον:

Which

public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed[80]. He fled to Tegea, where he died; but the above events happened some time afterwards.

LXXIII. Cleomenes having succeeded in his designs upon Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by the two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages: amongst these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Casambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Being caried to Attica, they there remained amongst their most inveterate enemies.

Which Buchanan accordingly rendered,

Tu ferrum sine vi domas
Montes quod Chalybum creant

Whereas the reading ought to be,

Και τον εν χαλυβεσσι
Δαμαζει σε βια σιδαρον.

Ferrum vis tua perdomat
Montes quod, &c.—See *Barnes*. *T.*

80 *His house razed.*]—This still constitutes part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that in a civilized people it should be a part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—*T.*

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterwards fled to Theſſaly; for his treachery againſt Demaratus becoming manifeſt, he feared the reſentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raiſe a commotion, by ſtirring up the Arcadians againſt Sparta. Amongſt other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement, to follow him wherever he ſhould think proper to conduct them. He particularly wiſhed to carry the principal men amongſt them to the city of Nonacris, there to make them ſwear by the waters of Styx[81]. Theſe

[81] *Waters of Styx.*]—It appears by this paſſage that the Greeks aſſembled at Nonacris to ſwear by the waters of Styx; when their oaths were to be conſidered as inviolable: the gods alſo ſwore by Styx, and it was the greateſt oath they could uſe. "This water," obſerves Pauſanias, "is mortal to men and animals:" it was, doubtleſs, for this reaſon that it was ſaid to be a fountain of the infernal regions. This water could not be preſerved, but in a veſſel made of the horn of a mule's hoof. See Pliny, N. H. l. xxx. c. 16.—"Ungulas tantum mularum repertas neque aliam ullam materiam quæ non pernoderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pauſanias gives the ſame efficacy to the horn of a horſe's hoof; and Plutarch to that of an aſs.—*Larcher.*

A few particulars on this ſubject, omitted by Larcher, and leſs familiar perhaps to an Engliſh reader, I ſhall add to the above. Pliny ſays, it was remarkable for producing a fiſh, the taſte of which was fatal. The ſolemnity with which the gods regarded the ſwearing by Styx, is mentioned by Virgil:

Stygiamque paludem
Dii cujus jurare timent et fallere numen.

The ſacred ſtreams which heaven's imperial ſtate
Atteſts in oaths, and fears to violate.

The

These waters are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is enclosed by a circular wall.—Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Phereos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre [82]. This extravagant behaviour induced his

The circumstance of this oath being regarded by all the gods as inviolable, is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and all the more ancient writers: Homer calls it δεινοτατον μακαρεσσι. The punishment supposed to be annexed to the perjury of gods in this instance, was that of being tortured 9,000 years in Tartarus.—See Servius on the 6th book of the Æneid.—*T.*

[82] *With his sceptre.*]—That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

> He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,
> The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
> On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
> The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

his friends to confine him in a pair of ſtocks; ſeeing himſelf, on ſome occaſion, left with only one perſon to guard him, he demanded a ſword; the man at firſt refuſed to obey him, but finding him perſiſt in his requeſt, he at length, being an Helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as ſoon as he received the ſword, began to cut the fleſh off his legs [83]; from his legs he aſcended to his thighs, from his thighs to his loins, till at length, making gaſhes in his belly, he ſo died. The Greeks in general conſider his death as occaſioned by his having bribed the Pythian [84] to give an anſwer againſt Demaratus. The Athenians alone aſſert, that he was thus puniſhed for hav-

The moſt ancient ſceptre was probably a ſtaff to reſt upon, for Ovid deſcribes Jupiter as reſting upon his; it was a more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown: the firſt Roman who aſſumed the ſceptre was Tarquin the Proud.—*T.*

[83] *Cut the fleſh off his legs.*]—Longinus inſtances this and a ſimilar paſſage in Herodotus, to ſhew how a mean action may be expreſſed in bold and lofty words; ſee ſection xxxi.—the word here uſed by Herodotus is καταχορδεύων. The other paſſage of Herodotus, alluded to by Longinus, is in book vii. c. 181. where three Grecian ſhips are deſcribed as reſiſting ten Perſian veſſels: ſpeaking of Pythes, who commanded one of the former, he ſays, "that after his ſhip was taken, he perſevered in fighting, ες ὁ κατεκρεουργηθὴ απας, or, as we ſhould ſay in Engliſh, "till he was quite cut in pieces."—*T.*

[84] *Having bribed the Pythian.*]—The diſeaſe of madneſs was frequently conſidered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety and wickedneſs.—Oreſtes was ſtruck with madneſs for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a ſimilar crime; Ajax Oileus for violating the ſanctity of a temple, &c.—*T.*

ing plundered the temple of the goddeſſes at Eleuſis [85]. The Argives ſay, that it was becauſe he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in a temple of Argos [86], and had not only put them to the ſword, but had impiouſly ſet fire to the ſacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, upon conſulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he ſhould certainly

85 *Goddeſſes at Eleuſis.*]—Ceres and Proſerpine.

"We turned to the ſouth, into the plain Eleuſis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where they ſay the firſt corn was ſowed; there is a long hill, which divides the plain, extending to the eaſt within a mile of the ſea, and on the ſouth ſide is not half a mile from it: at the eaſt end of this hill the ancient Eleuſis was ſituated. About a mile before we came to it, I ſaw the ruins of a ſmall temple to the eaſt, which might be that which was built at the threſhing-floor of Triptolemus.

"In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of ſtones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propylæa, which was before the gates of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars, and entablatures, and doubtleſs it is the ſpot of the temple of Ceres and Proſerpine, &c."—*Pococke*, ii. 170.

86 *Temple of Argos.*]—This Argos was the ſon of Jupiter and Niobe daughter of Phoronea; he had given his name to Argos, and the territory he poſſeſſed. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel; Pauſanias ſpeaks only of his monument, which doubtleſs ſtood in the wood conſecrated to him.

This Argos was very different from him ſurnamed Panoptes, who had eyes in every part of his body: this was the ſon of Agenor, and great grandſon of him of whom we ſpeak.—*Larcher.*

become

become maſter of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river Eraſinus [87], which is ſaid to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to ſhew itſelf a ſecond time in the territories of Argos, after diſappearing for ſome time in an immenſe gulph; it is then called by the Argives, Eraſinus. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered ſacrifice to it: the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to paſs the ſtream [88], from which incident he affected to praiſe the river god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheleſs, vowed that the Argives ſhould have no occaſion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he ſacrificed a bull to the Ocean [89]; and embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia, and Nauplia.

87 *Eraſinus.*]—According to Strabo there was another river of this name; the one here mentioned is now called Raſino, and was called by Ovid "ingens Eraſinus."

Redditur Argolicis ingens Eraſinus in agris. *T.*

88 *No encouragement to paſs the ſtream.*]—In Lucan, when Cæſar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is repreſented as appearing to him, in order to diſſuade him from his purpoſe.—The whole deſcription is admirably beautiful.

89 *A bull to the Ocean.*]—A bull was the uſual victim to the Dii Magni. Horace repreſents one as ſacrificed to Pluto; Virgil, to Neptune and Apollo; Homer, to the ſea, and to rivers. It was not frequently, if it was ever ſacrificed to Jupiter. Bacchus was ſometimes worſhipped with the head of a bull; and I have before obſerved, that the bull ſacrificed to the Ægyptian Typhon gave occaſion to the golden calf of the Iſraelites.—*T.*

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the ſea to repel him: as ſoon as they came to Tirynthus[90], at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great diſtance from the enemy. They were not ſo much afraid of meeting their adverſaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuſcade: of this indeed they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Mileſians and themſelves:

When[91] female hands the ſtrength of man ſhall
 tame,
And among Argives gain a glorious name,
Women of Argos ſhall much grief diſplay,
And thus ſhall one in future ages ſay:

90 *Tirynthus.*]—From this place Hercules was ſometimes called Tirynthius.

91 *When.*]—The firſt part of this oracle is explained by what Pauſanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Teterilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loſs of numbers of his men.—Plutarch, after relating the above, adds ſome circumſtances ſo very whimſical, that I may well be excuſed inſerting them. "Some aſſert," ſays Plutarch, "that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feaſt called Hybriſtica, when the women are cloathed in the coats and breeches of men, and the men in the veils and petticoats of women." He proceeds to ſay, that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them loſt their huſbands, did not marry their ſervants, but firſt admitted the beſt of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterwards married them. But on their reproaching and inſulting theſe huſbands, a law paſſed that new-married women, when they lay for the firſt time with their huſbands, ſhould wear beards.—*T.*

"A ſerpent huge, which wreath'd its body round,
"From a keen ſword receiv'd a mortal wound."

Theſe incidents filled the Argives with the greateſt terror; they accordingly reſolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverſe army: as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the ſame.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes taking notice that the Argives obſerved what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the ſignal ſhould be given for his ſoldiers to dine, they ſhould immediately take their arms and attack the Argives. The Lacedæmonians upon this gave the ſignal for dinner, the Argives did the ſame; but whilſt they were engaged in eating, the enemy ruſhed upon them, ſlew a prodigious number, and ſurrounded many others, who eſcaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. Whilſt they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following meaſure:—By means of ſome deſerters, he learned the names of all thoſe Argives who had eſcaped to this grove; theſe he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ranſom: this in the Peloponneſe, is a fixed ſum, and is ſettled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, who as they reſpectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to thoſe who remained in the aſylum, the thickneſs of the wood not allowing them

to

to ſee what paſſed. Till at length one getting up a tree, ſaw the tranſaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his Helots to encompaſs the wood with materials for the purpoſe; and they obeying him, it was ſet on fire[92]. Whilſt it was burning Cleomenes deſired to know of one of the fugitives to what divinity that grove was ſacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian in great agitation exclaimed—" O " Apollo, thy prediction has miſled me, promiſing " that I ſhould become maſter of Argos. Thy " oracle has I fear no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterwards permitted the greater part of his forces to return to Sparta; and reſerving only a ſelect body of a thouſand men, he went to offer ſacrifice at the temple of Juno. Wiſh-

[92] *Set on fire.*]—Mr. Maſon, in his admirable tragedy of Caractacus, has made an excellent uſe of the ſuppoſed ſanctity of the groves at Mona. The circumſtance of Cleomenes ſetting fire to the ſacred grove of Argos, bears in many inſtances a reſemblance to the burning of the groves of the Druids, by Aulus Didius, the Roman leader.

Caractacus.—Smile, my lov'd child, and imitate the ſun,
That riſes ruddy from behind yon oaks,
To hail your brother victor.

Chorus. That the ſun!
Oh horrour, horrour! Sacrilegious fires
Devour our groves: they blaze, they blaze—Oh, ſound
The trump again, &c. T.

ing

ing to perform the ceremonies himſelf on the altar; the prieſt forbade him, ſaying, it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. Upon this, he ordered the Helots to drag the prieſt from the altar [93], and beat him. He then ſacrificed, and afterwards returned to Sparta.

LXXXII. On his return, he was accuſed before the Ephori [94] of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or falſe, I am not able to determine: he obſerved, that having taking poſſeſſion of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle ſeemed to him finally completed. He concluded therefore, that he ought not to make any farther attempts upon the city, till he ſhould firſt be ſatisfied from his ſacrifices whether the deity would aſſiſt or oppoſe him. When he was performing the ſacred rites auſpiciouſly in the

[93] *Drag the prieſt from the altar.*]—A ſimilar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wiſhing to conſult the Delphic oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his deſigns againſt Perſia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauſpicious, and the Pythian refuſed to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himſelf, and by perſonal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions againſt him, ſhe at length exclaimed, "My ſon, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expreſſed himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with her anſwer, and aſſured his ſoldiers that it was unneceſſary to conſult the deity any more.—*T.*

[94] *Ephori.*]—The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the Ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—*T.*

temple

temple of Juno, a flame of fire[95] burst from the bosom of the sacred image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm, but its coming from the breast decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tyrinthes, which they seized. They for a time forebore to molest each other, till Cleander, a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district

[95] *Flame of fire.*]—The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed amongst the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiaraus was the first inventor of divination by fire.

Aruspicium Delphus invenit, ignispicia Amphiaraus, auspicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of beasts, Amphiaraus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphictyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—*T.*

of

of Phigasis, coming amongst them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on account of the things before mentioned Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say, that by communicating with the Scythians [96] he became a drinker of wine, and that this

[96] *Communicating with the Scythians.*]—See this story referred to in Athenæus, book x. c. 7; from whence we learn that επισκυθισαι, or to imitate the Scythians, became proverbial for intemperate drinking. A curious fragment is there also preserved from Achæus:

> Μων αχελωος ην κεκραμενος πολυς,
> Αλλουδε ληξαι τουδε τῳ γενει θεμις
> Καλως μεν ουν αγειν σκυθιστι πιειν.

See also the Adagia of Erasmus, upon the word Episcythizare. Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace:

> Natis in usum lætitiæ Scyphis
> Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
> Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
> Sanguineis prohibete rixis. *L.* i. 27.

Again, the same author,

> Non ego sanius
> Bacchabor Edonis. *L.* ii. 7.

Upon

this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed, that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes, by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing [97] from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From

Upon the word Scyphis, in the first quotation, it may not be improper to remark, that Athenæus doubts whether the word σκυφος, scyphus, a bowl, quasi σκυθος, scythus, be not derived à Scythis. The effect of intemperate drinking is well described in the Solomon of Prior:

I drank, I lik'd it not—'twas rage, 'twas noise,
An airy scene of transitory joys:
In vain I trusted that the flowing bowl
Would banish sorrow, and enlarge the soul.
To the late revel and protracted feast
Wild dreams succeeded, and disorder'd rest.
*   *   *   *   *
Add yet unnumber'd ills, that lie unseen
In the pernicious draught; the word obscene
Or harsh, which, once elanc'd, must ever fly
Irrevocable; the too prompt reply,
Seed of severe distrust, and fierce debate,
What we should shun, and what we ought to hate.—*T.*

97 *Advancing.*]—The word in Greek is αναβαινειν; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians, for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the Αναβασις. The illustration is, however, rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, *to* the sea at Trapezus, &c.—*T.*

which incident, whoever are desirous to drink intemperately, are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians."—Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance, on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death, than they dispatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina, what would you do? "would you take away a Spartan prince, whom "his countrymen have given up? Although the "Spartans have in anger come to this resolution, "do ye not fear that they will one day, if you per-"sist in your purpose, utterly destroy your coun-"try?" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred.—

They

They ſaid, that as the two kings had jointly confided theſe men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. Upon their final refuſal to ſurrender them, Leutychides thus addreſſed them: "In this buſineſs, Athenians, "you will do what you pleaſe; if you give up "theſe men, you will act juſtly, if you do not, you "will be diſhoneſt. I am deſirous however to relate "to you what once happened in Sparta upon a ſimi- "lar occaſion: We have a tradition amongſt us, that "about three ages ago there lived in Lacedæmon a "man named Glaucus, the ſon of Epicydes; he "was famous amongſt his countrymen for many "excellent qualities, and in particular for his inte- "grity. We are told, that in proceſs of time a "Mileſian came to Sparta, purpoſely to ſolicit this "man's advice. 'I am come,' ſaid he, addreſſing "him, 'from Miletus, to be benefited by your juſ- "tice, the reputation of which, circulating through "Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have compared "the inſecure condition of Ionia with the undiſ- "turbed tranquillity of the Peloponneſe; and ob- "ſerving that the wealth of my countrymen is con- "ſtantly fluctuating, I have been induced to adopt "this meaſure: I have converted half of my pro- "perty into money, which, from the confidence of "its being perfectly ſecure, I propoſe to depoſit in "your hands; take it therefore, and with it theſe "private marks; to the perſon who ſhall convince "you that he knows them you will return it.' The "Mileſian here finiſhed, and Glaucus accepted his "money upon theſe conditions. After a long inter- "val of time the ſons of the above Mileſian came

"to Sparta, and presenting themselves before Glau-
"cus produced the test agreed upon, and claimed
"the money. He however rejected the application
"with anger, and assured them that he remembered
"nothing of the matter. 'If,' says he, 'I should
"hereafter be able to recollect the circumstance
"you mention, I will certainly do you justice, and
"restore that which you say I have received. If,
"on the contrary, your claim has no foundation, I
"shall avail myself of the laws of Greece against
"you: I therefore invite you to return to me again,
"after a period of four months.' The Milesians
"accordingly departed in sorrow, considering them-
"selves cheated of their money: Glaucus, on the
"other hand, went to consult the oracle at Delphi.
"On his enquiring whether he might absolve him-
"self from returning the money by an oath, the
"priestess made him this reply:

"Glaucus[98], thus much by swearing you may gain,
"Thro' life the gold you safely may retain:
"Swear then—rememb'ring that the awful grave
"Confounds alike the honest man and knave;
"But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,
"Which tho' no feet it has, no arm uprears,
"Swiftly

98 *Glaucus, son of Epicydes.*]—The words of this oracle, as has been observed by many writers, and in particular by Grotius, may well be compared to a passage in Zechariah, v. 1.

"I looked, and behold, a flying roll.—Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth:—and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof."

The

" Swiftly the perjur'd villain will o'ertake,
" And of his race entire deſtruction make;
" Whilſt their deſcendants, who their oath regard,
" Fortune ne'er fails to favour and reward.

" On

The ſtory of Glaucus is alſo well introduced by Juvenal, Sat. xiii.

Spartano cuidam reſpondit Pythia vates,
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depoſitum retinere et fraudem jure tuere
Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ numinis eſſet
Mens et an hoc illi facinus ſuaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit
Exſtinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis
Has petitur pœnas peccandi ſola voluntas.

See alſo Jortin's Diſcourſes on the Chriſtian Religion.

" Joſephus ſays, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confeſſed that he ſuffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, I wonder how Polybius could ſay that Antiochus periſhed becauſe he had purpoſed to plunder the temple of Diana in Perſia; *for to intend the thing only, and not perform it, is not worthy of puniſhment.*—Το γαρ μηκετι ποιησαι το εργον βουλευσαμενον ουκ εστι τιμωριας αξιον."

How contrary to this ſentiment of Joſephus is the poſitive declaration of Jeſus Chriſt!

" But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

I cannot properly omit relating in this place a ſtory from Stobæus, ſomewhat of a ſimilar nature with this before us.—Larcher has done the ſame.

Archetimus of Erythræa, in Ionia, depoſited at Tenedos, in the hands of his friend Cydias, a conſiderable ſum of money. Having demanded it to be returned, the other denied that he had it; and as the diſpute grew warm, it was agreed that in three days he ſhould purge himſelf by an oath. This time was

 employed

"On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to forgive him; but he was told by the prieſteſs, that the intention and the action were alike criminal. Glaucus then ſent for the Mileſians, and reſtored the money.—My motive, Oh Athenians, for making you this relation, remains to be told. At the preſent day no deſcendant of Glaucus, nor any traces of his family, are to be found; they are utterly extirpated from Sparta. Wherever therefore a truſt has been repoſed, it is an act of wiſdom to reſtore it when demanded."——Leutychides, finding that what he ſaid made no impreſſion upon the Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the Æginetæ had ſuffered for the inſults formerly offered to the Athenians, with the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they had done the following act of violence:—Exaſperated againſt the Athenians for ſome imagined injury, they prepared to revenge themſelves. The Athenians had a quinquereme ſtationed at Sunium; of this veſſel, which was the Theoris [99], and full of

employed by Cydias in making hollow a cane, in which he placed the gold of Archetimus; and the better to conceal his fraud, he covered the handle of it with a thick bandage of linen. On the appointed day he left his houſe, reſting on this cane, as if indiſpoſed; and arriving at the temple, he placed the cane in the hands of Archetimus, whilſt he elevated his own, and ſwore that he had returned to him the depoſit confided to him. Archetimus in anger daſhed the cane on the ground: it broke in pieces, the gold fell out, and expoſed to the eyes of the ſpectators the perfidy of Cydias, who died prematurely.—*T.*

[99] *The Theoris.*]—This was a veſſel which was every year ſent

of the most illustrious Athenians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all whom they found in her in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnœthus, his name Nicodromus. From some disgust against his countrymen he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them on certain conditions to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist

sent to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his departure for Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion was begun, they purified the place, and it was an inviolable law to put no person to death till this vessel should be returned; and it was sometimes a great while on its passage, particularly when the wind was contrary. The festival called Theoria commences when the priest of Apollo has crowned the prow of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the person sent to offer sacrifice to some god, or consult an oracle; it was given to distinguish such persons from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called Πρεσβεις.—*Larcher*.

See a very poetical description of the arrival of a Theoris at Delos, in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vi. 417, 418.

" On appercevoit dans l'eloignement la Theorie des Atheniens. Telles que les filles de Nerée, lorsqu'elles suivent sur les flots le char de la souveraine des mers, une foule de batimens legers se jouoient autour de la galere sacrée. Leurs voiles, plus eclatantes que la neige, brilloient comme les cygnes qui agitent leurs ailes sur les eaux du Caistre et du Meandre, &c."—

 him.

him. He proceeded in his purpoſe, and made himſelf maſter of what is called the old city.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina; and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a reinforcement of ſhips, the favourable opportunity was loſt. The Corinthians, being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furniſhed them, at their requeſt, with twenty ſhips [100]: as their laws forbade them to give theſe ſhips, they ſold them their allies for five drachmæ each. With theſe, which in addition to their own made a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, the Athenians ſailed to Ægina, where however they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed.

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been ſtipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a veſſel from Ægina. The Athenians aſſigned Sunium for their reſidence, from whence they occaſionally iſſued to harraſs and plunder the people of Ægina; but theſe things happened afterwards.

XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered ſuch of the common people as had

100 *With twenty ſhips.*]—The Corinthians reproached the Athenians with this act of kindneſs, when they afterwards diſcovered an inclination to aſſiſt the Corcyreans.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 41.—*Larcher.*

taken

taken the part of Nicodromus againſt them, they proceeded to put their priſoners to death. On this occaſion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earneſt endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddeſs, they were driven from the iſland. As they were conducting to execution ſeven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them, eſcaping from his chains, fled to the veſtibule of the temple of Ceres Theſmophoros, and ſeizing the hinges of the door, held them faſt: unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands [101], and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus puniſhed their domeſtic enemies, the ſeventy veſſels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In conſequence of their defeat they applied a ſecond time to the Argives for aſſiſtance, which was refuſed, and for this reaſon: they complained that the ſhips of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently ſeized, had, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a deſcent upon their coaſt; to which act of violence ſome Sicyonian veſſels had alſo contributed. For this the Argives had demanded, by way of compenſation, a thouſand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologized for their miſconduct, and paying one hundred talents were excuſed the reſt. The Æginetæ were too proud to

[101] *Cut off his hands.*]—See *Hume's Eſſays*, vol. ii. 462.

make any conceſſions. The Argives therefore to their application for aſſiſtance refuſed any public countenance, but a body of about a thouſand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very ſkilful in the conteſts of the Pentathlon. The greater part of theſe returned no more, but were ſlain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates their leader, victorious in three different ſingle combats, was killed in a fourth, by Sophanes, a Decelian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of ſome confuſion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ſhips, with all their crews.

XCIV. Whilſt theſe two nations were thus engaged in hoſtilities, the domeſtic of the Perſian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Remember the Athenians[102]," which incident was farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Piſiſtratidæ

[102] *Remember the Athenians.*]—This incident will neceſſarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the Macedonian Philip; who to prevent pride and inſolence taking too entire a poſſeſſion of his heart, from his victories and great proſperity, enjoined a domeſtic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "Remember" is memorable in Engliſh hiſtory. It was the laſt word pronounced by Charles the firſt to Dr. Juxon on the ſcaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plauſible anſwer to the miniſters of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the ſubject; but many are ſtill of opinion, that it involved ſome myſtery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—*T.*

fiſtratidæ to criminate that people. The king himſelf was very glad of this pretext effectually to reduce ſuch of the Grecian ſtates as had refuſed him "earth and water." He accordingly removed from his command Mardonius, who had been unſucceſsful in his naval undertakings; he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition againſt Eretria and Athens; theſe were Datis[103], a native of Media, and Artaphernes his nephew, who were commanded totally to ſubdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. Theſe commanders, as ſoon as they had received their appointment, advanced to Aleium in Cilicia, with a large and well-provided body of infantry. Here, as ſoon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous reinforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterwards thoſe veſſels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which in the preceding year Darius had commanded his tributaries to ſupply. The horſe and foot immediately embarked, and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of ſix hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coaſt, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Helleſpont,

[103] *Datis.*]—This officer, in the exultation which attended his firſt ſucceſſes, exclaimed ως ηδομαι, και τερπομαι, και χαιρομαι. Καιρομαι is a barbariſm, for the Greeks always ſay χαιρω. This kind of barbariſms were afterwards called Datiſms. See the Peace of Ariſtophanes, verſe 290; and the obſervation of the Scholiaſt on 288.—*Larcher.*

but

but loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands, and the Icarian sea[104], fearing, as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had in the former year severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the island of Naxos, which before they had omitted to take.

XCVI. Proceeding therefore from the Icarian sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprize, they met with no resistance. The Naxians, remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves, the sacred buildings and the city were burned. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island, and fled to Tenos. To Delos the Persian fleet was directing its course, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, oh sacred people, do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If I had not received "particular directions from the king my master to "this effect, I, of my own accord, would never

[104] *Icarian sea.*]—The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious:

Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis.—*Ovid.* T.

"have

"have molested you, nor offered violence[105] to a "place in which two deities[106] were born. Re-"turn therefore, and inhabit your island as before." Having sent this message, he offered upon one of their altars incense to the amount of three hundred talents.

XCVIII. After this measure, Datis led his whole army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the moment of his departure the island of Delos was affected by a tremulous motion[107], a circumstance which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before or since. The deity, as it should seem by this prodigy, forewarned mankind[108] of the evils which were

105 *Offered violence.*]—On this subject, from the joint authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Callimachus, the Abbé Barthelemy expresses himself thus:—

"Les fureurs des barbares, les haines des nations, les inimitiés particulieres tombent à l'aspect de cette terre sacrée.—Les coursiers de Mars ne la foulent jamais de leurs pieds ensanglantés.—Tout ce que presente l'image de la guerre en est severement banni: on n'y souffre pas même l'animal le plus fidele à l'homme, parce qu'il y détruiroit des animaux plus foibles et plus timides; enfin la paix a choisi Delos pour son séjour, &c."—Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. According to Strabo, it was not permitted to have dogs at Delos, because they destroyed hares and rabbits.

106 *Two deities.*]—Apollo and Diana.

107 *Tremulous motion.*]—Thucydides relates that this island was affected by an earthquake at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, but that in the memory of man this had never happened before. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus and Thucydides may speak of the same fact. Wesseling thinks the same.—*T.*

108 *Forewarned mankind.*]—See the beautiful use which Virgil

were about to happen. Greece certainly suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations; these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power amongst its own great men. It was not therefore without reason that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken, which event indeed had been predicted by the oracle:

"Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it."

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue *, Darius signifies one who compels, Xerxes a warrior, Artaxerxes a great warrior; and

gil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cæsar:

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat, &c. 464, &c.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia:

Tum ne qua futuri
Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati
Pejoris manifesta fides, superique minaces
Prodigiis terras implerunt, æthera, pontum, &c. T.

* *Into the Greek tongue.*]—The original says, "these names in the *Greek* tongue mean," &c. which seems to imply that the words are themselves significant in Greek, which is not the case; it should surely be "in the Persian tongue," κατα Περσιδα γλωσσαν, otherwise the expression is incorrect, and the remainder of the sentence tautological, and indeed nonsensical.—Hyde, Bochart, and others, have treated of these terms of the old Persic.

thus

thus they would call them if they ufed the correfponding terms.

XCIX. The barbarians, failing from Delos to the other iflands, took on board reinforcements from them all, together with the children of the inhabitants as hoftages. Cruizing round the different iflands, they arrived off Caryftos [109]; but the people of this place pofitively refufed either to give hoftages, or to ferve againft their neighbours, Athens and Eretria. They were confequently befieged, and their lands wafted; and they were finally compelled to furrender themfelves to the Perfians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Perfian army, applied to the Athenians for affiftance; this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold, they accordingly fent them the four thoufand men to whom thofe lands had been affigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry; but the Eretrians, notwithftanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were fo divided in their refolutions, that whilft fome of them advifed the city to be deferted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Euboea [110], others,

[109] *Caryftos.*]—This place is now called Carifto, and is one of the Cyclades. It was anciently famous for its variegated marble.—*T.*

[110] *Rocks of Eubœa.*]—Thefe are what Virgil calls

Euboicæ cautes ultorque Caphareus.

Heyne's obfervation on this paffage of Virgil is fufficiently explicit and fatisfactory.—" Promontorium Eubœæ verfus orientem

others, expecting a reward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country [111]. Æschines, the son

tem Ο Καφηρευς propter latentia sub undâ saxa et vortices manesque æstum, imprimis naufragia Græcorum a Troja redeuntium infame."

His explanation of the word *ultor* is not so. *Ultor*, says he, is only added as an ornament, to denote that the rock was destructive, tanquam calamitosum saxum. Servius explains it by the story of Nauplius, who, incensed at the Greeks for the loss of his son Palamedes (who was put to death by the stratagems of Ulysses) made this rock the instrument of his vengeance. He placed a light upon it, which in the evening deluding their fleet, caused the shipwreck of numbers of their vessels.—See Propertius:

Nauplius *ultores* sub noctem porrigit ignes
Et natat exuviis Græcia pressa suis.

This however, is not quite right, for the context plainly shews that the revenge of Minerva against Ajax Oileus was present to the poet's mind when he wrote the epithet *ultor*; the remark of Heyne is therefore absurd. The following passage from Ovid is as complete a comment on this of Virgil, as if it had been written on purpose:

——postquam alta cremata est
Ilion; et Danaas paverunt Pergama flammas;
Naryciusque Heros, a virgine, virgine raptâ,
Quam meruit solus pœnam digessit in omnes;
Spargimur, et ventis inimica per æquora rapti
Fulmina, noctem, imbres, iram cœlique marisque
Perpetimur Danai, *Cumulum que Capharea cladis.*
Met. xiv. 466.

If the inhabitants of Caristus had retired, says Larcher, to this place, they would have had little to apprehend from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous.—*T.*

[111] *Betray their country.*]—Gorgylus, the only Eretrian who had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gorgylus, his descendants, were in

son of Nothon, an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs; advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and by passing over to Oropus, escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians arriving at Eretria, came near to Temenos [112], Chæreas, and Ægilia; making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them; the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place, and a contest of six day was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh, the city was betrayed to the enemy by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place, they pillaged and burned the temples to avenge the burning of their temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves [113].

CII.

in possession of them in the 95th Olympiad, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

[112] *Near to Temenos.*]—The Greek is κᾶτα τεμενος; if this had signified a temple, it would have been κατα το τεμενος. See the notes of Wesseling and Valcnaer.—*T.*

[113] *Were made slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless those made

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians staid a few days, and then failed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place therefore they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this, they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with the view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had been formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus [114], son of Hippocrates. During his exile, he had obtained the prize at the Olympic games, in the chariot race

made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged, in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—*T.*

[114] *Pisistratus.*]—I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus; I have one now before me in Ælian, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed? If, he would say, your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine. This he did, says Ælian, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him. —*T.*

of four horfes. This honour, however, he transferred [115] to Miltiades his uterine brother. At the Olympic games which next followed, he was again victorious, and with the fame mares. This honour he fuffered to be affigned to Pififtratus, on condition of his being recalled; a reconciliation enfued, and he was permitted to return. Being victorious a third time, on the fame occafion, and with the fame mares, he was put to death by the fons of Pififtratus, Pififtratus himfelf being then dead. He was affaffinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by fome villains fent for the purpofe: he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the fame fpot were interred the mares [116] which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, none other ever obtained a fimilar honour. At this period, Stefagoras, the eldeft fon of Cimon, refided

[115] *He transferred.*]—This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From Paufanias we learn a fingular fact; that they who obtained the prize at wreftling, being unable to fubftitute any perfon in their room, were accuftomed to take bribes to declare themfelves natives of places to which they did not belong. The fame author informs us, that Dionyfius the tyrant frequently fent agents to Olympia, to bribe the conquerors to declare themfelves natives of Syracufe. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to facrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or perhaps, as it might occafionally happen, their pride, were fubject to the punifhment of exile from thofe cities to which they did really belong.—*T.*

[116] *Interred the mares.*]—See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his Hiftory of Animals, l. xii. c. 40.: Where we are alfo told, that Evagoras, mentioned in the fubfequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horfes.—*T.*

in the Cherſoneſe with his uncle Miltiades; the youngeſt was brought up at Athens under Cimon himſelf, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Cherſoneſe.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Cherſoneſe, eſcaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: as far as Imbros he was purſued by the Phœnicians, who were exceedingly deſirous to take him alive, and preſent him to the king; on his return home, where he thought himſelf ſecure, his enemies accuſed, and brought him to a public trial, under pretence of his aiming at the ſovereignty of the Cherſoneſe; from this alſo he eſcaped, and was afterwards choſen a general of the Athenians, by the ſuffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, diſpatched Phidippides [117] to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was to deliver meſſages. To this Phidippides, as he himſelf affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on mount Parthenius [118], which is

[117] *Phidippides.*]—This name is differently written, Phidippides and Philippides.

[118] *Mount Parthenius.*]—This place was ſo named, quaſi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered ſacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exerciſe of hunting. Pauſanias, in his eighth book, ſpeaks of a temple here erected to Pan, "in the very place," ſays he, "where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him ſome important advice."—*T.*

is beyond Tegea. The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to aſk the Athenians why they ſo entirely neglected him[119], who not only wiſhed them well, but who had frequently rendered them ſervice, and would do ſo again. All this the Athenians believed, and as ſoon as the ſtate of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan[120] near the citadel: ever ſince the above period, they venerate the god by annual ſacrifices, and the race of torches[121].

CVI.

119 *Neglected him.*]—The note of Larcher on this paſſage ſeems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at lengh.

" Clemens of Alexandria ſays, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his exiſtence. With the reſpect due to a father of the church, this reaſoning does not to me ſeem juſt; becauſe the Athenians had not yet inſtituted feſtivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feaſts inſtituted in catholic countries, in honour of ſaints, are greatly poſterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like thoſe of Pan amongſt the Athenians, from the time when their protection and its effects were for the firſt time experienced."

If this be not a ſneer at the Romiſh ſaints, it is certainly very like one.—*T.*

120 *To Pan.*]—This ſacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pauſanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they ſung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, Deipnoſoph. l. xv. c. 14. but more correctly by Brunck, in his Analecta. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by ſome poet at the Panathenæa.—See the remainder of Larcher's note on this paſſage.

121 *Race of torches.*]—The manner of this race was as follows

CVI. Phidippides, who was ſent by the Athenian generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the ſecond day[122] of his departure

lows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whoſe honour the race was celebrated, to ſome certain ſpot, without extinguiſhing his torch; if the torch went out he gave it to a ſecond, and he to a third, if he met with the ſame accident; if the third was alſo unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feaſt was celebrated in honour of various deities, as of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æſculapius, &c. In the Panathænæa, or feaſts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Piræum; from the Ceramicus or academy, in thoſe of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a ſtatue of Cupid, conſecrated by Piſiſtratus, where they lighted the ſacred torches in the courſes inſtituted in honour of theſe gods. The ſame honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this paſſage in Herodotus, and in the manuſcript lexicon of Photius.

To this cuſtom various authors allude, and amongſt others Lucretius:

> Augeſcunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,
> Inque brevi ſpatio mutantur ſæcla animantum,
> Et quaſi curſores vitai lampada tradunt.

I am of opinion that there is an alluſion to this cuſtom alſo in an epigram of Alcæus of Meſſina, preſerved in Brunck:

> Beauty having a torch in his hand runs ſwiftly.
>
> Ἡ δε ὥρη λαμπαδ' ἐχουσα τρεχει. *Larcher.*

[122] *On the ſecond day.*]—Larcher, in his obſervation on this paſſage, corrects a miſtake of Pliny the naturaliſt. "It was thought," ſays Pliny, "a great thing that Phidippides ran in two days 1140 ſtadia, that is to ſay, the diſtance betwixt Athens and Lacedæmon, till Laniſis (Larcher ſays, I know not on what authority, Aniſtis) and Philonides, who was a courier of Alexander the Great, ran in one day 1200 ſtadia, or the diſtance betwixt Sicyon and Elis." "Allowing," ſays Larcher, "for

ture from Athens. He went immediately to the magiſtrates, and thus addreſſed them: "Men of "Lacedæmon, the Athenians ſupplicate your aſ- "ſiſtance, and entreat you not to ſuffer the moſt "ancient city of Greece to fall into the hands of "the Barbarians: Eretria is already ſubdued, and "Greece weakened by the loſs of that illuſtrious "place." After the above ſpeech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians reſolved to aſſiſt the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate cuſtom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprize before the moon was at the full[122]; for this, therefore, they waited.

CVII.

"for the windings of the road betwixt Sicyon and Elis, the diſtance is no more than 600 ſtadia of thoſe which are eight to a mile, of which ſtadia there are 1140 betwixt Athens and Sparta. If Pliny in this place meant to ſpeak of the ſmaller ſtadium, he ought to have ſaid ſo, becauſe juſt above he ſpoke of the greater ſtadium, as the paſſage itſelf proves."

I may be allowed in this place to correct an error of Larcher, who miſquotes the above paſſage from Pliny; he calls Aniſtis and Philonides *couriers d'Alexandre*, whereas the words of Pliny are, "donec Aniſtis curſor Lacedæmonius, & Philonides Alexandri Magni," that is, till Aniſtis a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides a courier of Alexander, &c. Pliny, it may be addded, in the ſame chapter (book vii. c. 20.) ſpeaks of people who in the circus could run 160 miles a day, and of a boy who betwixt noon and evening ran 75 miles.

[123] *Moon was at the full.*]—I will firſt give the reader what Plutarch, in his Eſſay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this paſſage, and afterwards the obſervation of Larcher, which

CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he saw

seems to me at least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

"Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying that waiting for the full moon they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon." Plutarch then adds the passage before us, after which he says, "Thou, oh Herodotus, transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things."

"The Lacedæmonians," says Larcher, "did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias, b. i. c. 28. of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25. who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus, and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch; of Hermogenes also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts, that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person? Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but if he had been dull as any Bœotian, I much doubt whether he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the Olympic games."

this

this vision: he thought that he lay with his mother[124]. The inference which he drew from this was, that he should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age: he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans; the vessels which arrived at Marathon, he stationed in the port, and drew up the Barbarians in order as they disembarked. Whilst he was thus employed, he was seized with a fit of sneezing[125], attended with

[124] *Lay with his mother.*]—This was considered as a fortunate dream, for in a case like this a man's mother intimated his country. Cæsar had a similar dream, at which although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

[125] *Sneezing.*]—The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the Odyssey welcoming it as such from Telemachus:

She spoke—Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;
Constrain'd, his nostrils echoed through the crowd;
The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd;
So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says, that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate; to sneeze to the right was lucky, to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "salvere jusserunt," or as we should say, cried "save you;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquarians account very differently; but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account seems

with a very unusual cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth upon the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain; upon which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him: "This country is not ours, nor shall "we ever become masters of it—my lost tooth "possesses all that belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident the accomplishment of his vision. In the mean time the Athenians, drawing themselves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly submitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans being oppressed by the Thebans, sollicited the protection of Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand; they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason: "From us, said "they, situated at so great a distance, you can ex-

seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed auspicious: "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which through the nostrils expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—*T.*

"pect

"pect but little assistance; for before we can even "receive intelligence of your danger, you may be "effectually reduced to servitude; we would rather "recommend you to apply to the Athenians, who "are not only near, but able to protect you." The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so much consider[126] the interest of the Plateans, as they were desirous of seeing the Athenians harrassed by a Bœotian war. The advice was nevertheless accepted, and the Plateans going to Athens, first offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve divinities, and then sitting near the altar, in the attitude of supplicants, they placed themselves formally under the protection of the Athenians. Upon this the Thebans led an army against Platea, to defend which the Athenians appeared with a body of forces. As the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians interfered; their endeavours to reconcile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœo-

126 *Did not so much consider.*]—Plutarch, in his tract on the Malignity of Herodotus, speaks thus of this passage: "Herodotus representing this fact adds, not as a matter of suspicion or opinion, but as a certainty well known to him, that the Lacedæmonians gave this counsel to the Plateans, not from any regard or good will to them, but from the wish to involve the Athenians in trouble, by engaging them with the Bœotians. If then Herodotus be not malignant, the Lacedæmonians must have been both fraudful and malevolent: the Athenians must also have been fools, in permitting themselves thus to be imposed upon, and the Platæans were introduced not from any respect, but merely as an occasion of war."—*T.*

tians,

tians to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this, the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were on their return attacked by the Bœotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries, which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, amongst whom was Miltiades, were anxious to engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments, the less politic appeared likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the Polemarch [127], whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice; and, according to established custom, is

[127] *Polemarch.*]—The polemarch was the third of the nine archons; it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agrotera, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war; he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—*T.*

equal

equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addreſſed him thus: "Upon "you, O Callimachus, it alone depends, whether "Athens ſhall be enſlaved, or whether, in the pre-"ſervation of its liberties, it ſhall perpetuate your "name even beyond the glory of Harmodius and "Ariſtogitus. Our country is now reduced to a "more delicate and dangerous predicament than "it has ever before experienced; if conquered, we "know our fate, and muſt prepare for the tyranny of "Hippias; if we overcome, our city may be made "the firſt in Greece. How this may be accom-"pliſhed, and in what manner it depends on you, I "will explain: the ſentiments of our ten leaders "are divided, ſome are deſirous of an engage-"ment, others the contrary. If we do not engage, "ſome ſeditious tumult will probably ariſe, which "may prompt many of our citizens to favour the "cauſe of the Medes; if we come to a battle be-"fore any evil of this kind take place, we may, if "the gods be not againſt us, reaſonably hope for "victory: all theſe things are ſubmitted to your "attention, and are ſuſpended on your will.—If "you accede to my opinion, our country will be "free, our city the firſt in Greece; if you ſhall "favour the opinions of thoſe who are averſe to an "engagement, you may expect the contrary of all "the good I have enumerated."

CX. Theſe arguments of Miltiades produced the deſired effect upon Callimachus, from whoſe

interpofition it was determined to fight. Thofe leaders [128], who from the firft had been folicitous to engage the enemy, refigned to Miltiades the days of their refpective command. This he accepted, but did not think proper to commence the attack, till the day of his own particular command arrived in its courfe.

CXI. When this arrived, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the eftablifhed cuftom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in clofe order, according to their refpective ranks; the Plateans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever fince this battle, in thofe folemn and public facrifices, which are celebrated every fifth year, the herald implores happinefs for the Plateans jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre were not very deep, which of courfe conftituted their weakeft part; but the two wings were more numerous and ftrong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being

[128] *Thofe leaders.*]—Of the ten Athenian generals, it was cuftomary to elect one from each tribe, upon which occafion a memorable faying of Philip of Macedon is preferved by Plutarch in his apothegms.—"I envy," fays Philip, "the good fortune of the Athenians; they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, whilft I on my part am only able to find Parmenion, who is capable of conducting mine."—*T.*

thus

thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran towards the Barbarians. There was betwixt the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians seeing them approach by running, prepared to receive them, and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they behaved with the greatest gallantry [129]. They were the first Greeks that I know of, who ran to attack an enemy [130]; they were the first also, who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the Barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians

[129] *Greatest gallantry.*]—Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies, and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

[130] *Ran to attack an enemy.*]—According to Pausanias, long before this period, the Messenians ran to attack the Lacedæmonians, "but this author," says Larcher, "is too modern to oppose to Herodotus." It was certainly the common custom of the Greeks thus to meet the enemy. Cæsar practised this mode of attack against Pompey, and with success.

and

and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Plateans, in the two wings, drove the Barbarians before them; then making an inclination towards each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory[131], killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels.

CXIV. Callimachus the Polemarch, after the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Stesileus also, the son of Thrasylus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus[132], son of Euphorion,

[131] *A complete victory.*]—"It is surprising," says Larcher, "that in his account of this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides; his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement, and when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders, who, at the head of their different tribes, drove the Persians to their ships.—Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty; the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so.

[132] *Cynægirus.*]—He was the brother of Æschylus the celebrated tragic poet; he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he had any separate command.

Euphorion, after ſeizing one of the veſſels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an ax, and died of his wounds: with theſe many other eminent Athenians periſhed.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained poſſeſſion of ſeven of the enemy's veſſels. The Barbarians retired with their fleet, and taking on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the iſland, they paſſed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them. The Athenians impute the proſecution of this meaſure to one of the Alcmæonidæ, who they ſay held up a ſhield [133] as

command. A remarkable incident is related by Lucan of a man, who, ſeizing the beak of his enemy's ſhip, had his hand cut off; undiſmayed by which he ſeized it with the other, of which alſo he was deprived.

He, the bold youth, as board and board they ſtand,
Fix'd on a Roman ſhip his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow deſcends,
And the torn limb from off his ſhoulder rends;
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with ſtiff'ning cold,
Convulſive graſp, and ſtill retain their hold:
Nor ſunk his valour, by the pain depreſt,
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangl'd breaſt;
His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
The ſame hard deſtiny the left demands,
And now a naked helpleſs trunk he ſtands, &c.—*T.*

[133] *Held up a ſhield.*]—"For my part," ſays Reiſke, "I by no means clearly underſtand this paſſage; to whom did the Alcmæonidæ ſhew the ſhield, to the Perſians or Athenians? Certainly not to

as a ſignal to the Perſians, when they were under ſail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians loſt no time in haſtening to the defence of their city, and effectually prevented the deſigns of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the ſame deity, in Cynoſargis. The Barbarians anchoring off Phalerus, the Athenian harbour, remained there ſome time, and then retired to Aſia.

to the laſt, for the Athenians were then in their camp: to the Perſians then;—but why to theſe? To hold up a ſhield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 444, a ſignal for battle; but why ſhould the Alcmæonidæ hold up a ſhield to the Perſians, who were on board their veſſels, as a ſignal to engage a body of land forces?"

The above reaſoning of Reiſke ſeems far from ſatisfactory. If any previous agreement exiſted betwixt the Alcmæonidæ and the Perſians, the holding up of the ſhield might intimate what could only be known to the perſons concerned; and ſo far from being a ſignal of battle, might ſuggeſt entirely the reverſe, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of ſignal-making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection, and at ſea in particular, orders of the minuteſt kind are communicated, and diſtinctly underſtood, by the ſimpleſt proceſs imaginable, hoiſting or lowering colours, ſails, &c. The more common ſignal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In Æſchylus, Agamemnon tells Clytemneſtra that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires; this is repreſented as being done, and a meſſenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's ſignals had been ſeen.—*T.*

CXVII. The Persians lost[134] in the battle of Marathon six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, whilst valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury, notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared, that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added, that the spectre, passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus[135].

[134] *The Persians lost.*]—Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed (see Suidas, at the word ποικιλη) that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pæcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Platæan heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the Barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phœnician vessels.

[135] *Narrative of Epizelus.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who fought at the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—*T.*

CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet to Aſia, being at Mycone, ſaw in the night a viſion, the particulars of it are not related, but as ſoon as the morning appeared he examined every veſſel of the fleet; finding on board a Phœnician a golden image of Apollo, he enquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it himſelf in his own ſhip to Delos. The Delians being returned to their iſland, he firſt depoſited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium, which is on the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned; the Delians paid no attention to his requeſt, but in the twentieth year after the above event the Thebans removed the image to Delium by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, ſailing to Aſia, carried the captive Eretrians [136] to Suſa. Darius, before their defeat, had expreſſed the ſevereſt indignation againſt them, as having firſt and unjuſtly commenced hoſtilities; but when they were conducted to his preſence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he ſhewed no farther reſentment, but appointed them a reſidence at a place called Ardericca, in the diſtrict of Ciſſia, one of the

[136] *Captive Eretrians.*]—Larcher tells us, from Philoſtratus, that the Perſians took 780 priſoners at Eretria, but that a great many eſcaped amongſt the rocks of Eubœa, and that only 400 were carried to Suſa, amongſt whom were ten women.

royal

royal ſtations. This is diſtant from Suſa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well which produces the three ſubſtances of bitumen, ſalt, and oil; it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is ſuſpended made of half a ſkin; it is then poured into one ciſtern, and afterwards removed into a ſecond. The ſubſtances by this proceſs ſeparate; the bitumen and the ſalt form themſelves into diſtinct maſſes. The Perſians collect the oil, which they call rhadinace, into veſſels; this laſt is of a dark colour, and has a ſtrong ſmell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians, and here to my memory they have remained, preſerving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had paſſed the full [137], a body

[137] *Had paſſed the full.*]—Mankind in all ages, from obſerving the viſible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have ſuppoſed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the ſtate of the human body. The juſtly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatiſe, entitled De imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano; but all thoſe prejudices and this ſuperſtition are now exploded, by the more ſatisfactory deductions of a ſound philoſophy. It has been reaſonably urged, that as the moſt accurate and ſubtle barometers are not at all affected by the various poſitions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body ſhould be within the ſphere of its influence. Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the Eaſt it is cuſtomary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey: from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occaſion to comment on Proverbs, vii. 19, 20, and 1 Samuel, xx. 24, 25; which paſſages he explains by referring them to ſome ſimilar prejudice amongſt the ancient Jews:

a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens; such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle, but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that to gratify their curiosity they proceeded to Marathon; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcmæonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the Barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly exceed, or even equal, Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias[138] was ever distinguished by

Proverbs, vii. 19, 20. The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time*. "The appointed time," says Mr. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon*."

1 Samuel, xx. 24. "So David hid himself in the field: and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat."—*T.*

[138] *Callias.*]—A whimsical story is told of this Callias, in Plutarch's Life of Aristides: he was a man of mean rank, but happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a Barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch: Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands?—*T.*

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his implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honours he obtained [139] at the Olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse race, the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games he was also victorious, upon which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence [140]. His liberality also to his three daughters was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry, he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

[139] *Honours he obtained.*—The whole of this passage is wanting in many manuscripts: Valcnaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher thinks it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias. —*T.*

[140] *With great magnificence.*]—I presume it was customary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus, book i. chap. 3, several examples to this effect.—Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a flask of Chian wine.—*T.*

CXXIII. But all the Alcmæonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants; I am therefore the more aſtoniſhed to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumſtance imputed to them, of holding up a ſhield as a ſignal to the Perſians. While a ſyſtem of tyranny prevailed in their country they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Piſiſtratidæ reſigned their power: for theſe reaſons they ſeem to me to have more aſſiſted the cauſe of freedom than either Harmodius or Ariſtogiton. Theſe latter, by deſtroying Hipparchus, ſo far from repreſſing the ambitious deſigns of the other Piſiſtratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmæonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their ſuggeſtion that the Pythian, as I have before deſcribed, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to reſtore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be aſked, whether they were induced to betray their country from any reſentment againſt the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illuſtrious at Athens, or held in more general eſtimation. The ſtory, therefore, of the ſhield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability: that a ſhield was held up cannot be diſputed, but by whom I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmæonidæ were always amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of Athens; but Alcmæon himſelf, and Megacles, his immediate deſcendant,

defcendant, were more particularly illuftrious. Alcmæon fon of Megacles received with great kindnefs, and obliged by many fervices, thofe Lydians whom Crœfus fent from Sardis to confult the oracle at Delphi. On their return they did not omit to acquaint Crœfus with his benevolence; he inftantly fent for him to Sardis, and prefented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To enhance the value of this gift, Alcmæon made ufe of the following artifice:—Providing himfelf with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the moft capacious bufkins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treafury; there rolling himfelf amongft the golden ingots, he firft ftuffed his bufkins as full of gold as poffibly he could, he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth, with gold duft. This done, with extreme difficulty he ftaggered from the place, from his fwelling mouth, and projections all around him, refembling any thing rather than a man. When Crœfus faw him, he burft into laughter, and not only fuffered him to carry all that he had got away, but added other prefents equally valuable. The family from this circumftance became exceedingly affluent, and Alcmæon was thus enabled to procure and maintain thofe horfes which obtained him the victory at the Olympic games.

CXXVI. In the age which next fucceeded, Clifthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raifed this family even beyond its former importance. This Clifthenes, who was the fon of Ariftonymus, grandfon of Myron,

non, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista: his determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the Olympic games at which Clisthenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes was desired to appear at Sicyon within sixty days; for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those therefore who were either proud of their own merit, or of their country, appeared as candidates; and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra [141], and other proper places of exercise.

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides [142], son of

141 *A palæstra.*]—Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes, were the solemnities described in books of ancient romance and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages; perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome; from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—*T.*

142 *Smindyrides.*]—The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned

of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury: Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the ſame occaſion Damas of Siris appeared, he was the ſon of Samyris, ſurnamed the Wiſe. Amphimneſtus the Epidamnian, ſon of Epiſtrophus, came from the Ionian gulph. Amongſt others alſo was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus [143] who ſurpaſſed the reſt of his countrymen in bodily prow-eſs, but who had retired from ſociety to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, ſon of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peleponneſe: this man firſt inſtituted the inſtruments of meaſuring [144] in

mentioned by Ælian in his Various Hiſtory. See book ix. c. 24. He complained, after ſleeping upon roſes, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardneſs of his bed. Seneca, in his Treatiſe de Ira, had evidently in his eye the above paſſage of Ælian; but he ſays that Smindyrides complained of the roſes being doubled under him—foliis roſæ duplicatis. The words of Ælian are φλυκταινας εκ της ευνης εχειν; now φλυκταιναι certainly mean tumours occaſioned from extreme exerciſe or fatigue.

The other paſſage in Ælian, is book xii. c. 24; from which we learn, that when he paid his addreſſes to the daughter of Cliſthenes, he carried with him a thouſand cooks, a thouſand fowlers, and a thouſand fiſhermen.—*T.*

143 *Titormus.*]—This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day diſputed with Milo of Crotona, which could ſooneſt devour a whole ox. Of this laſt, incredible as it may ſeem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old upon his ſhoulders to ſome diſtance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and eat the whole of it by himſelf, in the ſpace of a day.—*Larcher.*

144 *Inſtruments of meaſuring.*]—On this ſubject the following paſſage occurs in Pliny. Menſuras et pondera Phidon Argivus invenit

in the Peleponnese, and was the most insolent of all his cotemporaries. He removed the Agonothetæ[145] from Elis, which office he himself afterwards executed at Olympia. Amiartus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus: there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion who, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterwards remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Amongst the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Alcmæon who went to Crœsus; and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent amongst his countrymen, both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lysanias, who came from Eretria, which was at that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ of Thessaly, was present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon from amongst the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first enquired of each his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative strength,

invenit vel Palamedes ut malluit Gellius.—The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras. See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance.—*Larcher.*

[145] *Agonothetæ.*]—These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest he often engaged in public exercises; but his great trial of them all was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality; but to the Athenians he shewed a particular preference. Of these Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard, both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ[146] of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, an hundred oxen[147] were sacrificed, and the suitors, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper, the suitors engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. Whilst they were drinking[148], Hippoclides,

[146] *Cypselidæ.*]—See an account of the founder of this family, in the fifth book, chapter 92.

[147] *Hundred oxen.*]—The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were an hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from ἑκατομβη, a solemn sacrifice; or rather from εκατος, a hundred, and βȣς, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of an hundred beasts of the same kind, upon an hundred altars, by an hundred different priests. —*T.*

[148] *Whilst they were drinking.*]—In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody

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clides, who made himſelf remarkably conſpicuous, directed one of the muſicians to play a tune called "Emmelia[149]:" his requeſt being obeyed, he began to dance with much ſatisfaction to himſelf, though, as it ſhould ſeem, to the great diſguſt of Cliſthenes, who attentively obſerved him. After a ſhort pauſe, Hippoclides commanded a table to be brought; upon this he firſt of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he ſtood upon his head, uſing his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclides Cliſthenes obſerved with great command of temper; he determined not to chooſe him as his ſon-in-law, being much of-

at the table of Seuthes deſires Ariſtus to drink; he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might aſk Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

149 *Emmelia.*]—It has been generally underſtood of the dance called Emmelia, that it was of a peculiar gravity and ſtatelineſs, ſuited to the dignity of tragedy: but I think with Larcher, from the paſſage before us, that there muſt have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it ſeems not at all likely that Cliſthenes ſhould quarrel with his ſon-in-law elect for exerciſing himſelf in a ſolemn and dignified dance. Of this dance alſo we are told that Plato approved, along with the Pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been of the immodeſt kind which is here reprobated. It may alſo without impropriety be obſerved, that the Athenians deemed thoſe impolite who refuſed to exerciſe themſelves in dancing, when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more ſuitable than a nuptial feaſt? The act of dancing would naturally ſeem to indicate joy, but it conſtituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have ſomewhere read of a tribe of Indians, amongſt whom dancing was practiſed as a teſtimony of ſorrow.—*T.*

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fended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your "wife."—"Hippoclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterwards became a proverb[150].

CXXX. After this Clisthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who have "come hither as suitors to my daughter, are all "entitled to my praise, and if it were in my power "I would gratify you all, not distinguishing one "in preference to the rest; but this is impossible, "for as there is only one virgin, the wishes of you "all cannot be satisfied: to each of you therefore, "who must depart hence disappointed of their ob-"ject, in acknowledgment of your condescension "in desiring to marry a daughter of mine, I pre-"sent a talent of silver; but I give my daughter "Agarista to Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, to "be his wife according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

[150] *Became a proverb.*]—Lucian uses this as a proverbial expression, in his Apolog. pro Merced. Arduct. ου φροντι Ἱπποκλειδη, Hippoclides cares not. We have one in this country, amongst the common people, nearly the same—"Who cares?" The expression ολιγον μοι μελει occurs frequently in the Vespis of Aristophanes, probably in allusion to this place of Herodotus. Plutarch also, in his tract against Herodotus, applies of himself as ridiculous the phrase.—*T.*

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suitors, and in this manner the Alcmæonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians into tribes, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterwards was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. She being pregnant, dreamt that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterwards delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of money and of men: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them, he only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the reinforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians for taking an active part in favour of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon. This however was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lysagoras,

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the ſon of Tyſias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Perſian againſt him. On his arrival before the place, Miltiades commenced a vigorous ſiege, ſending at the ſame time an herald to the Parians, to demand a hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had deſtroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand, but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, ſtrengthening thoſe parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as ſtrong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correſpond in their account; what enſued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity [151], conſulted with a female captive, a Parian by birth, whoſe name was Timo, a prieſteſs of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, ſhe ſaid, that if he wiſhed to accompliſh his deſigns upon Paros, he muſt follow her advice. In conſequence of what ſhe recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and, not able to open the gates of a place conſecrated to Ceres Theſmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove ſomething which it was deemed impious to touch, or with ſome other intention; on approaching the entrance he was ſeized with a ſudden hor-

[151] *Great perplexity.*]—The account given of Miltiades, and of this particular expedition, by Cornelius Nepos, is materially different.—*T.*

ror of mind; and returning by the ſame way, he in leaping a ſecond time over the wall diſlocated his thigh, though, as ſome ſay, he wounded his knee.

CXXXV. After the above accident Miltiades returned home, without bringing the Athenians the wealth he promiſed, or rendering himſelf maſter of Paros, before which, after laying waſte the iſland, he remained ſix-and-twenty day. When the Parians knew that Timo the prieſteſs had adviſed Miltiades, they wiſhed to puniſh her. As ſoon therefore as the ſiege was raiſed, they ſent to Delphi to enquire whether they might put the prieſteſs to death, as having pointed out to an enemy the means of poſſeſſing their country, and had expoſed to Miltiades thoſe ſacred ceremonies at which it was not lawful for a man to be preſent. The Pythian would not ſuffer them to hurt her, ſaying, that Timo was not culpable, for that it was decreed that Miltiades ſhould miſerably periſh, and that ſhe was only the inſtrument of conducting him to his deſtiny.

CXXXVI. On his return from Paros, Miltiades was generally cenſured by his countrymen, and in particular by Xanthippus, the ſon of Ariphron, who accuſed him capitally to the Athenians as a betrayer of his country. To this Miltiades could not perſonally reply, for his wound mortifying, he was confined to his bed; but he was very vigorouſly defended by his friends, who adduced in his favour the victory of Marathon, the taking of Lemnos, which, after chaſtiſing the Pelaſgi, he had re-

duced

duced to the power of Athens. By the interference of the people, his life was ſaved, but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents[152]. His wound growing worſe, Miltiades died, but the fine was diſcharged by his ſon Cimon.

CXXXVII. Miltiades had thus obtained poſſeſſion of Lemnos. The Pelaſgians had been expelled Attica by the Athenians, whether juſtly or otherwiſe, I am not able to determine: Hecatæus the ſon of Hegeſander, in his hiſtory, ſays unjuſtly. The Athenians, according to him, obſerving their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelaſgi as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little, and was of no eſtimation, they expelled them from it, without any other motive than envy, and a deſire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account ſays, that the Pelaſgi were juſtly expelled; this people, they aſſert, made hoſtile excurſions from Hymettus[153], and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains, for the purpoſe of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no ſlaves. Not

[152] *Fifty talents.*]—This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the ſum which it coſt the Athenians to fit out the armament which Miltiades led againſt Paros.—*T.*

[153] *Hymettus.*]—This place, now called Hymetto, was anciently famous for producing fine marble, abundance of bees, and excellent honey. The hills of Hymettus were the ſcene of the celebrated ſtory of Cephalus and Procris. See Ovid de Arte Amandi, iii. 687.

> Eſt prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti
> Fons ſacer, &c. *T.*

ſatisfied with treating theſe with great inſolence and brutality, the Pelaſgi formed the bolder deſign of rendering themſelves maſters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occaſion entitled to the higheſt praiſe; for, having detected the Pelaſgi of treachery, they might juſtly have exterminated them, inſtead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumſtanced, they diſperſed themſelves, and ſome of them ſettled at Lemnos.—Such are the different accounts of Hecatæus and the Athenians.

CXXXVIII. Thoſe Pelaſgi who ſettled at Lemnos were very ſolicitous to avenge themſelves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of their public feſtivals, they prepared two fifty-oared barks to ſurprize the Athenian females[154] who were engaged near Brauron in celebrating the feaſt of Diana; many of theſe fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. Theſe women had a number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and man-

[154] *Athenian females.*]—In the Greek, the *wives* of the Athenians. It is proper to obſerve, that the Athenians, who called themſelves Athenaioi, never called their women Athenaiai, becauſe Minerva is in Homer called Athenaia: ſuch was their ſuperſtition. They ſpoke of their women by a periphraſis, as here, or by the word *αϛαι*, aſtai, female citizens, becauſe Athens, by way of diſtinction, was called *Αϛυ*, the city.

The feaſt here mentioned was called Brauronia, from the place at which it was celebrated. A goat was ſacrificed, and rhapſodiſts ſung portions of the Iliad; it was celebrated every five years. Young girls, ſacred to Diana, celebrated this feaſt in ſaffron-coloured robes; they might not be more than ten years old, nor leſs than five.—*Larcher.*

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ners: these accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood. They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king[155], induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX. The Pelasgi, after the above murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility; to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they

[155] *Thoas their king.*]—Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lesbian women to this sanguinary action was this;—The Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women thus, deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—*T.*

 should

ſhould require; they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themſelves to ſubmit to whatever ſhould be propoſed. The Athenians ſet in order ſome couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greateſt magnificence, they prepared alſo a table covered with every delicacy; they then required the Pelaſgi to ſurrender them Lemnos in a ſimilar ſtate of abundance:—" Whenever," ſaid they, in reply, " one of your veſſels ſhall in a ſingle day " make its paſſage to our country with a northern " wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies conſiderably to the ſouth of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of ſome years, when the Cherſoneſe on the Helleſpont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the ſon of Cimon, under favour of an eaſtern wind, paſſed in a ſingle day from Elæos in the Cherſoneſe to Lemnos. He inſtantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle [156], the completion of which they little expected. With this the Hephæſtians complied, but the Myrinæi not allowing the Cherſoneſe to be Attica, ſuſtained a ſiege, but were compelled to ſurrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades [157], the Athenians became maſters of Lemnos.

[156] *Oracle.*]—A ſpeech of the kind related in the former chapter, though delivered by common perſons, was conſidered as prophetic and oracular.

[157] *Means of Miltiades.*]—Compare the account of Herodotus with that given by Cornelius Nepos.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

CHAP. I.

WHEN the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incenſed againſt the Athenians, on account of their invaſion of Sardis, became ſtill more exaſperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He inſtantly therefore ſent emiſſaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a ſtill greater number of tranſports, horſes, corn, and proviſions. In the interval which this buſineſs employed, Aſia experienced three years of confuſion; her moſt able men being enrolled for the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth, the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyſes, revolted from the Perſians: but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations againſt both nations.

II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute amongst the sons of Darius, concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne, by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artabazanes [1] was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose [2] between them; Artabazanes asserted his

[1] *Artabazanes.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that from this personage the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for so many years resisted the Roman power, was descended. Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other authors, trace this prince to one of the seven Persians who conspired against Smerdis Magus. This Artabazanes probably enjoyed the satrapy of Pontus, and his descendants doubtless enjoyed it also, till Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes (the founder) became sovereign of the country of which he had before only been governor.

This reasoning will hardly appear satisfactory, unless it were evident that the satrapies under the crown of Persia were hereditary, which was by no means the case.—*T.*

[2] *A dispute arose.*]—The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his Treatise of Brotherly Love, differs materially.

"When Darius died, some contended that Ariamenes should succeed him, as being eldest; others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born whilst Darius was actually king. Ariamenes accordingly went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions; but as soon as his brother arrived, he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect: "Xerxes your brother sends you these presents, to shew how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself." The reply of Ariamenes was, "I accept

his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge [3]. Xerxes claimed the throne because

"I accept your presents; the crown I believe to be my right: I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular." When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa: "Why," she observed, "should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia? and why dread a contest, where if inferior you will still be next to the king?" Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Ariamenes on this hastily rose, made obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

[3] *Consent to acknowledge.*]—The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was originally decided by fraud or violence.—See *Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Amongst the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land: a law, says

because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa, Demaratus [4], the son of Ariston, who being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported, to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther, in support of his claim, that when he was born Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia, but at the birth of Artabazanes his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes therefore could not be set aside, without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this, the example of the

says judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

Upon the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously; whilst I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident, that property continually subdivided must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state; the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength. —*T.*

[4] *Demaratus.*]—Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, because he attended him on his expedition to Greece. These places were enjoyed by Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, at the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

Spartans

Spartans[5] was adduced, amongst whom those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.

IV. Darius having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march: but in the year which succeeded the Ægyptian revolt he died; having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Ægyptians[6] and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death Xerxes immediately succeeded to the throne, who from the first seemed wholly inclined to the Ægyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus ad-

5 *Example of the Spartans.*]—Cragius, in his useful book De Republica Lacedæmoniorum, speaks at some length on the right of succeeding to the throne of Sparta; but I do not find that he mentions the particularity which is here sanctioned by the respectable authority of Herodotus.—*T.*

6 *Ægyptians.*]—Aristotle on this subject is at variance with Herodotus; he says that Darius having taken possession of Ægypt, passed over from thence into Greece. The authority of Herodotus, says Larcher, who was almost a cotemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterwards.

dressed

dreſſed him: "I ſhould think, Sir[7], that the "Athenians, who have ſo grievouſly injured the "Perſians, ought not to eſcape with impunity. I "would nevertheleſs have you execute what you "immediately propoſe; but when you ſhall have "chaſtiſed the inſolence of Ægypt, reſume the expe-"dition againſt Athens. Thus will your reputation "be eſtabliſhed, and others in future be deterred "from moleſting your dominions." What he ſaid was farther enforced by repreſenting the beauties of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounded with all kinds of trees[8], and deſerved to be poſ-ſeſſed by the king alone.

[7] *I ſhould think, Sir.*]—The word Δεσπότα I have rendered "Sir;" Larcher has expreſſed it by the word "Seigneur," as moſt ſignificant of the reverence with which a ſlave addreſſed his lord. For my own part, I am inclined to conſider it as a term of general reſpect, and not as having any appropriate ſignification, to intimate the condition of the Perſians with regard to their ſovereigns. Thus, amongſt the Jews, the word Rabbi meant, as it is properly rendered in our verſions, "maſter," that is to ſay, it did not imply that they to whom it was applied were the maſters of thoſe who uſed it; but it was a term which cuſtom adopted, and politeneſs ſanctified, as reſpectful from an inferior to a perſon above him. Add to this, that it was peculiar to the lofty genius of the oriental languages to adopt phraſes by no means to be interpreted or underſtood in their ſtrict and literal ſenſe.—*T.*

[8] *All kinds of trees.*]—It ſeems a little ſingular, that Mardonius ſhould ſay this; for I believe it has always been acknowledged that the luxuriant climates of Aſia produced every thing which relates to fruit and vegetation, in far greater abundance and perfection than the leſs genial ſoils of Europe. —*T.*

VI. Mardonius ſaid this, being deſirous of novel undertakings, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counſel, to which he was alſo urged by other conſiderations. Some meſſengers came from Theſſaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accompliſh which they uſed the moſt earneſt endeavours. Theſe Aleuadæ were the princes of Theſſaly: their ſolicitations were ſtrengthened by the Piſiſtratidæ, who had taken refuge at Suſa, and who to the arguments before adduced added others. They had amongſt them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous prieſt, who ſold the oracles of Muſæus; with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Suſa. This man had been formerly baniſhed from Athens by the ſon of Piſiſtratus; for Laſus [9] of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended oracle amongſt the verſes of Muſæus, intimating that the iſlands contiguous to Lemnos ſhould be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Piſiſtratidæ to Suſa, who always ſpoke of him in

[9] *Laſus.*]—Laſus was a muſician, poet, and, according to ſome, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verſe, and of the circular dances. Ariſtophanes, in the Aves, calls him κωκλιο διδασκαλος. He was fond of gaming; and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refuſed once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: "Yes," anſwered Xenophanes, "in every thing which is baſe and diſhoneſt, I confeſs myſelf a coward."—*T.*

terms highly honourable; upon which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the Barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously; amongst other things he said the fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest, and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year [10] which followed the death of Darius he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Ægypt [11] more effectually reduced than it had been by Darius, the government of it he confided to Achæmenes his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was after-

[10] *In the year.*]—Herodotus was born this year, at Halicarnassus in Caria. See Aulus Gellius, book xv. c. 23.

" Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides flourished in the same time, and were nearly of the same age; Hellanicus, in the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty."—*T.*

[11] *Whole of Ægypt.*]—Xerxes having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Ægypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God at that place. —*Prideaux.*

wards ſlain by Inarus an African, the ſon of Pſammitichus.

VIII. After the ſubjection of Ægypt, Xerxes prepared to lead an army againſt Athens, but firſt of all he called an aſſembly of the principal Perſians, to hear their ſentiments, and to deliver without reſerve his own. He addreſſed them to the following purport: "You will remember, O "Perſians, that I am not about to execute any new "project of my own; I only purſue the path "which has been previouſly marked out for me. "I have learned from my anceſtors, that ever ſince "we recovered this empire from the Medes, after "the depreſſion of Aſtyages by Cyrus, we have "never been in a ſtate of inactivity. A deity is "our guide, and auſpiciouſly conducts us to proſperity. It muſt be unneceſſary for me to relate "the exploits of Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius, and "the nations they added to our empire. For my "own part, ever ſince my acceſſion to the throne, "it has been my careful endeavour not to reflect "any diſgrace upon my forefathers, by ſuffering "the Perſian power to diminiſh. My deliberations on this matter have preſented me with a "proſpect full of glory; they have pointed out "to me a region not inferior to our own in extent, "and far exceeding it in fertility, which incitements "are farther promoted by the expectation of honourable revenge; I have therefore aſſembled "you to explain what I intend: I have reſolved,

" by throwing a bridge over the Hellespont [12], to " lead my forces through Europe into Greece, and " to inflict vengeance on the Athenians for the in- " juries offered to my father and Persia. You " well know that this war was intended by Darius, " though death deprived him of the means of " vengeance. Considering what is due to him and " to Persia, it is my determination not to remit my " exertions, till Athens be taken and burned [13].

[12] *Hellespont.*]—Bochart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elis-pont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan's sons; and it may be added, that one of the 120 provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian empire, was named Provincia *Alysionensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending Æolia. From the authority above cited, upon the change of language Elisha the son of Javan was called Æolus. The Jewish rabbi explain the name Elisha, *ad insulam*; and Varro, as cited by Servius, on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him Dominus insularum (lord of the islands.)—*T.*

[13] *Taken and burned.*]—Mr. Glover had probably this speech of Xerxes in his mind, when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

Is this the city whose presumption dar'd
Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said
Mardonius, entering.—Whither now are fled
Th' audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
Where'er you lurk, Athenians, if in fight,
Soon shall you view your citadel in flames:
Or, if retreated to a distant land,
No distant land of refuge shall you find
Against avenging Xerxes. *Athenaid.*

" The

"The Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and
" my father: under the conduct of Aristagoras
" of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they at-
" tacked Sardis, and consumed with fire our groves
" and temples. What they perpetrated against
" you, when, led by Datis and Artaphernes, you
" penetrated their country, you know by fatal ex-
" perience. Such are my inducements to proceed
" against them: but I have also additional motives.
" If we reduce these and their neighbours who in-
" habit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, to
" our power, the Persian empire will be limited by
" the heavens alone; the sun will illuminate no
" country contiguous to ours: I shall over-run all
" Europe, and with your assistance possess unli-
" mited dominion. For if I am properly inform-
" ed, there exists no race of men, nor can any
" city or nation be found, which if these be re-
" duced can possibly resist our arms: we shall
" thus subject, as well those who have, as those
" who have not injured us. I call therefore for
" your assistance, which I shall thankfully accept
" and acknowledge; I trust that with cheerfulness
" and activity you will all assemble at the place I
" shall appoint. To him who shall appear with the
" greatest number of well-provided troops, I will
" present those gifts which in our country are
" thought to confer the highest honour. That I
" may not appear to dictate my own wishes in an
" arbitrary manner, I commit the matter to your
" reflection, permitting every one to deliver his
" sentiments with freedom."

IX. When Xerxes had finiſhed, Mardonius made the following reply: " Sir, you are not only the " moſt illuſtrious of all the Perſians who have " hitherto appeared, but you may ſecurely defy " the competition of poſterity. Amongſt other " things which you have advanced, alike excellent " and juſt, you are entitled to our particular admi- " ration for not ſuffering the people of Ionia, con- " temptible as they are, to inſult us with impunity. " It would indeed be prepoſterous, if after reducing " to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Æthio- " pians, and the Aſſyrians, with many other great " and illuſtrious nations, not in revenge of injuries " received, but ſolely from the honourable deſire " of dominion, we ſhould not inflict vengeance " on thoſe Greeks who, without provocation, have " moleſted us. There can be nothing to excite " our alarm; no multitude of troops, no extraor- " dinary wealth; we have tried their mode of " fighting, and know their weakneſs. Their de- " ſcendants, who under the names of Ionians, " Æolians and Dorians, reſide within our domi- " nions, we firſt ſubdued, and now govern. Their " prowеſs I myſelf have known, when at the " command of your father I proſecuted a war " againſt them. I penetrated Macedonia, advanc- " ed almoſt to Athens, and found no enemy to en- " counter. Beſides this, I am informed that in all " their military undertakings the Greeks betray " the extremeſt ignorance and folly. As ſoon as " they commence hoſtilities among themſelves,

"their firſt care is to find a large and beautiful
"plain[14], where they appear and give battle: the
"conſequence is, that even the victors ſuffer ſevere
"loſs; of the vanquiſhed I ſay nothing, for they are
"totally deſtroyed. As they uſe one common
"language, they ought in policy to terminate
"all diſputes by the mediation of ambaſſadors,
"and above all things to avoid a war among
"themſelves: or, if this ſhould prove unavoidable,
"they ſhould mutually endeavour to find a place
"of great natural ſtrength, and then try the iſſue
"of a battle. By purſuing as abſurd a conduct
"as I have deſcribed, the Greeks ſuffered me
"to advance as far as Macedonia without re-
"ſiſtance. But who, Sir, ſhall oppoſe you, at
"the head of the forces and the fleet of Aſia?
"The Greeks, I think, never can be ſo auda-
"cious. If however I ſhould be deceived, and
"they ſhall be ſo mad as to engage us, they will
"ſoon find to their coſt that in the art of war we
"are the firſt of mankind. Let us however adopt
"various modes of proceeding, for perfection and
"ſucceſs can only be the reſult of frequent experi-
"ment."—In this manner Mardonius ſeconded the
ſpeech of Xerxes.

[14] *Plain.*]—The Romans, in attacking an enemy, ſo diſpoſed their army, as to be able to rally three different times. This has been thought by many as the great ſecret of the Roman diſcipline; becauſe fortune muſt have failed their efforts three different times before they could be poſſibly defeated. The Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore depended upon the effect of the firſt charge.—*T.*

X. A total ſilence prevailed in the aſſembly, no one daring to oppoſe[15] what had been ſaid; till at length Artabanus, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationſhip, thus delivered his ſentiments: "Unleſs, O king, "different ſentiments be ſubmitted to the judgment, "no alternative of choice remains, the one intro-"duced is of neceſſity adopted. The purity of "gold cannot be aſcertained by a ſingle ſpecimen; "it is known and approved by comparing it with "others. It was my advice to Darius, your father "and my brother, that he ſhould by no means un-"dertake an expedition againſt the Scythians, a "people without towns and cities. Allured by "his hopes of ſubduing them, he diſregarded my "admonitions; and proceeding to execute his pur-"poſe was obliged to return, having loſt numbers "of his beſt troops. The men, O king, whom "you are preparing to attack, are far ſuperior to "the Scythians, and alike formidable by land and "ſea. I deem it therefore my duty to forewarn "you of the dangers you will have to encounter.

[15] *Daring to oppoſe.*]—The following is from Ælian's Various Hiſtory, book xii. c. 62.

"This was one of the Perſian laws; if any one thought proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did ſo ſtanding on a golden tile: if his advice appeared to be ſalutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward; he was nevertheleſs beaten for preſuming to contradict the king. But in my opinion," ſays Ælian, "a man of an ingenuous mind would never have ſubmitted to the diſ-grac for the ſake of the reward."—*T.*

"You

"You say that, throwing a bridge over the Helles-
"pont, you will lead your forces through Europe
"into Greece; but it may possibly happen, that
"either on land or by sea, or perhaps by both, you
"may sustain a defeat, for our enemies are reported
"to be valiant. Of this indeed we have had suf-
"ficient testimony; for if the Athenians by them-
"selves routed the numerous armies of Datis and
"Artaphernes, it proves that we are not either by
"land or sea perfectly invincible. If, preparing
"their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and
"afterwards sailing to the Hellespont, shall destroy
"your bridge, we may dread all that is bad. I do
"not argue in this respect from my own private
"conjecture; we can all of us remember how
"very narrowly we escaped destruction, when your
"father, throwing bridges over the Thracian Bos-
"phorus and the Ister, passed into Scythia. The
"guard of this pass was entrusted to the Ionians,
"whom the Scythians urged to break it down, by
"the most earnest importunity. If at this period
"Histiæus of Miletus had not opposed the senti-
"ments of the rest, there would have been an end
"of the Persian name. It is painful to repeat, and
"afflicting to remember, that the safety of our
"prince and his dominions depended on a single
"man. Listen therefore to my advice, and where
"no necessity demands it, do not involve yourself
"in danger. For the present, dismiss this meet-
"ing; revolve the matter more seriously in your
"mind, and at a future and seasonable time make

"known your determination. For my own part, "I have found from experience that deliberation "produces the happieſt effects. In ſuch a caſe, if "the event does not anſwer our wiſhes, we ſtill "merit the praiſe of diſcretion, and fortune is alone "to be blamed. He who is raſh and inconſiderate, "although fortune may be kind, and anticipate his "deſires, is not the leſs to be cenſured for temerity. "You may have obſerved how the thunder-bolt of "heaven chaſtiſes the inſolence of the more enor-"mous animals, whilſt it paſſes over without in-"jury the weak and inſignificant: before theſe "weapons of the gods you muſt have ſeen how "the haughtieſt palaces [16] and the loftieſt trees fall "and periſh. The moſt conſpicuous things are "thoſe which are chiefly ſingled out as objects of "the divine diſpleaſure. From the ſame principle "it is that a mighty army is ſometimes over-"thrown by one that is contemptible; for the deity "in his anger ſends his terrors amongſt them, and "makes them periſh in a manner unworthy of their

[16] *Haughtieſt palaces.*]

Auream quiſquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obſoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus: et celſæ graviore caſus
Decidunt turres, feriuntque ſummos
Fulgura montes. *Hor.* l. ii. 10.

"former

"former glory. Perfect wisdom[17] is the preroga-"tive of Heaven alone, and every measure under-"taken with temerity is liable to be perplexed "with error, and punished by misfortune. Dis-"creet caution on the contrary has many and pe-"culiar advantages, which if not apparent at the "moment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O "king, is my advice; and little does it become "you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks "in a language foolish as well as false. By ca-"lumniating Greece, you excite your sovereign to "war, the great object of all your zeal: but I "intreat you to forbear; calumny is a restless vice, "where it is indulged there are always two who "offer injury. The calumniator himself is inju-"rious, because he traduces an absent person; he "is also injurious who suffers himself to be per-"suaded without investigating the truth. The "person traduced is doubly injured, first by him "who propagates, and secondly by him who re-"ceives the calumny. If this war be a measure "of necessity, let it be prosecuted; but let the "king remain at home with his subjects. Suffer

17 *Perfect wisdom.*—The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined to controvert; yet Buffon, during his life-time, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—*T.*

 "the

"the children of us two to remain in his power, "as the teſt of our different opinions; and do you, "Mardonius, conduct the war with whatever forces "you ſhall think expedient. If, agreeably to your "repreſentations, the deſigns of the king ſhall be "ſucceſsful, let me and my children periſh; but if "what I predict ſhall be accompliſhed, let your "children die, and yourſelf too, in caſe you ſhall "return. If you refuſe theſe conditions, and are "ſtill reſolved to lead an army into Greece, I do "not heſitate to declare, that all thoſe who ſhall "be left behind will hear that Mardonius, after "having involved the Perſians in ſome conſpi-"cuous calamity, became a prey to dogs and ra-"venous birds, in the territories either of Athens "or Lacedæmon, or probably during his march "thither. Thus you will know, by fatal expe-"rience, what thoſe men are againſt whom you "endeavour to perſuade the king to proſecute a "war."

XI. When Artabanus had finiſhed, Xerxes thus angrily replied: "Artabanus, you are my father's "brother, which alone prevents your receiving "the chaſtiſement due to your fooliſh ſpeech. "This mark of ignominy ſhall however adhere to "you—as you are ſo daſtardly and mean, you ſhall "not accompany me to Greece, but remain at "home, the companion of our women. Without "your aſſiſtance, I ſhall proceed in the accom-"pliſhment of my deſigns; for I ſhould ill deſerve

"to

“ to be eſteemed the ſon of Darius[18], who was the
“ ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and reckoned amongſt his an-
“ ceſtors Arſamis, Arinnis, Teiſpeus, Cyrus, Cam-
“ byſes, Teiſpeus, and Achæmenes, if I did not
“ gratify my revenge upon the Athenians. I am
“ well aſſured, that if we on our parts were tran-
“ quil they would not, but would invade and
“ ravage our country. This we may reaſonably
“ conclude from their burning of Sardis, and their
“ incurſions into Aſia. Neither party can there-
“ fore recede; we muſt advance to the attack of
“ the Greeks, or we muſt prepare to ſuſtain theirs;
“ we muſt either ſubmit to them, or they to us; in
“ enmities like theſe there can be no medium.
“ Injured as we have been, it becomes us to ſeek
“ for revenge; for I am determined to know what
“ evil is to be dreaded from thoſe whom Pelops the

[18] *Son of Darius.*]—The following was the genealogy of this family:

ACHÆMENES.
|
TEISPEUS.
|
CAMBYSES.
|
CYRUS.

CAMBYSES.	TEISPEUS.
CYRUS.	ARINNIS.
CAMBYSES.	ARSAMIS.
	HYSTASPES.
	DARIUS.

“ Phrygian,

"Phrygian, the ſlave of my anceſtors, ſo effectually
"ſubdued, that even to this day they, as well as
"their country, are diſtinguiſhed by his name."

XII. On the approach of evening the ſentiments of Artabanus gave great diſquietude to Xerxes, and after more ſerious deliberation with himſelf in the night, he found himſelf ſtill leſs inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the ſubject, he fell aſleep, when, as the Perſians relate, the following viſion appeared to him:—He dreamed that he ſaw before him a man of unuſual ſize and beauty, who thus addreſſed him: "Are you then deter-
"mined, O Perſian, contrary to your former reſo-
"lutions, not to lead an army againſt Greece, al-
"though you have ordered your ſubjects to pre-
"pare their forces? This change in your ſenti-
"ments is abſurd in itſelf, and will certainly be
"cenſured by the world. Reſume therefore, and
"perſiſt in what you had reſolved by day." Having ſaid this, the viſion diſappeared.

XIII. The impreſſion made by the viſion vaniſhed with the morning. Xerxes a ſecond time convoked the former meeting, and again addreſſed them: "Men of Perſia," ſaid he, "you will for-
"give me, if my former ſentiments are changed.
"I am not yet arrived at the full maturity of my
"judgment; and they who wiſh me to proſecute
"the meaſures which I before ſeemed to approve,
"do not remit their importunities. When I firſt
"heard the opinion of Artabanus, I yielded to
"the

"the emotions of youth, and expreſſed myſelf "more petulantly than was becoming to a man of "his years. To prove that I ſee my indiſcretion, "I am reſolved to follow his advice. It is not "my intention to undertake an expedition againſt "Greece; remain therefore in tranquillity."—The Perſians, hearing theſe ſentiments, proſtrated themſelves with joy before the king.

XIV. On the following night the ſame phantom appeared a ſecond time to Xerxes in his ſleep, and ſpake to him as follows: "Son of Darius, diſregarding my admonitions as of no weight or "ſignification, you have publicly renounced all "thoughts of war. Hear what I ſay: unleſs you "immediately undertake that which I recommend, "the ſame ſhort period of time which has ſeen "you great and powerful, ſhall behold you reduced "and abject."

XV. Terrified at the viſion, the king leaped from his couch, and ſent for Artabanus. As ſoon as he approached, "Artabanus," exclaimed Xerxes, "in return for your ſalutary counſel, I reproached "and inſulted you; but as ſoon as I became maſter of myſelf I endeavoured to prove my repentance, by adopting what you propoſed. This "however, whatever may be my wiſhes, I am unable to do. As ſoon as my former determinations were changed, I beheld in my ſleep a viſion, "which firſt endeavoured to diſſuade me, and has "this moment left me with threats. If what I "have ſeen proceed from the interference of ſome

"deity,

"deity, who is solicitous that I should make war on "Greece, it will doubtless appear to you, and give "you a similar mandate. This will I think be the "case, if you will assume my habit, and after sitting "on my throne retire to rest in my apartment."

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to comply, alledging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king[19]. But being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments: "I am of opinion, O king, that to think well, and "to follow what is well-advised, is alike commend- "able[20]: both these qualities are yours; but the "artifice of evil counsellors misleads you. Thus, "the ocean is of itself most useful to mankind, but "the stormy winds render it injurious, by disturbing

[19] *Of the king.*]—To sit on the king's throne, was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

[20] *Alike commendable.*]—Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences, from Livy and from Cicero.

Sæpe ego audivi milites eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene moventi obediat.

I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion; and that he deserved the second place who followed it.—*Liv.* xxii. 29.

Sapientissimum dicunt eum cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem, proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. Which passage of Cicero, pro Cluentio, may be rendered nearly the same as that from Livy. The sentiment is originally Hesiod's, and is by him beautifully expressed in his *Works* and *Days*, ver. 293. It has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his Antigone. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough: "In folly," he says, "it is just the contrary, the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity; the next he who adopts it." This is perfectly true.—*T.*

"its

"its natural surface. Your reproaches gave me "less uneasiness than to see that when two opinions "were submitted to public deliberation, the one "aiming to restrain, the other to countenance the "pride of Persia, you preferred that which was "full of danger to yourself and your country, re-"jecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out the "evil tendency of ambition. Now that you have "changed your resolution with respect to Greece, "a phantom has appeared, and, as you say, by some "divine interposition, forbidding your present pur-"pose of dismissing your forces. But, my son, I "dispute the divinity of this interposition, for of "the fallacy of dreams I, who am more experienced "than yourself, can produce sufficient testimonies. "Dreams in general originate from those incidents "which have most occupied the thoughts during "the day[21]. Two days since, you will remember, "that this expedition was the object of much "warm discussion: but if this vision be really sent "from heaven, your reasoning upon it is just, and "it will certainly appear to me as it has done to "you, expressing itself to a similar effect; but it "will not shew itself to me dressed in your robes, "and reclining on your couch, sooner than if I

[21] *During the day.*]—After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall I hope be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

"The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together."—*T.*

"were

"were in my own habit and my own apartment. "No change of drefs will induce the phantom, if "it does appear, to miftake me for you. If it "fhall hold me in contempt, it will not appear to "me, however I may be cloathed. It unqueftion-"ably however merits attention; its repeated ap-"pearance I myfelf muft acknowledge to be a "proof of its divinity. If you are determined in "your purpofe, I am ready to go to reft in your "apartment: but till I fee the phantom myfelf I "fhall retain my former opinions."

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, feated himfelf on the royal throne, and afterwards retired to the king's apartment. The fame phantom which had difturbed Xerxes appeared to him[22], and thus addreffed him: "Art thou the man who, pretend-"ing to watch over the conduct of Xerxes, art "endeavouring to reftrain his defigns againft "Greece? Your perverfenefs fhall be punifhed "both now and in future; and as for Xerxes him-"felf, he has been forewarned of the evils he will "fuffer, if difobedient to my will."

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the fpectre, which at the fame time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron.

22 *Appeared to him.*]—Larcher reafonably fuppofes that this was a plot of Mardonius to impofe on Xerxes; and that fome perfon, dreffed and difguifed for the purpofe, acted the part of the ghoft.

Alarmed

Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went inſtantly to Xerxes. After relating his viſion, he thus ſpake to him: " Being a man, Oh king, of much expe-" rience, and having ſeen the undertakings of the " powerful foiled by the efforts of the weak, I was " unwilling that you ſhould indulge the fervour of " your age. Of the ill effects of inordinate ambi-" tion I had ſeen a fatal proof, in the expedition " which Cyrus undertook againſt the Maſſagetæ; " I knew alſo what became of the army of Cam-" byſes in their attack of Æthiopia; and laſtly, I " myſelf witneſſed the misfortunes of Darius in his " hoſtilities with the Scythians. The remem-" brance of theſe incidents induced me to believe " that if you continued a peaceful reign, you would " beyond all men deſerve the character of happy: " but as your preſent inclination ſeems directed by " ſome ſupernatural influence, and as the Greeks " ſeem marked out by Heaven for deſtruction, I ac-" knowledge that my ſentiments are changed; do " you therefore make known to the Perſians the " extraordinary intimations you have received, and " direct your dependants to haſten the preparations " you had before commanded. Be careful, in what " relates to yourſelf, to ſecond the intentions of the " gods."—The viſion indeed had ſo powerfully impreſſed the minds of both, that as ſoon as the morning appeared Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Perſians; which Artabanus, in oppoſition to his former ſentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. Whilst every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision. The magi to whom it was related were of opinion that it portended to Xerxes unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth, but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretation of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduction of Ægypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth[23] he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions the fame of which

[23] *Beginning of the fifth.*]—Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Ægypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died; this therefore was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march, he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered; in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece. This therefore was in the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon; which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—*T.*

has

has come down to us, this was far the greateſt, much exceeding that which Darius undertook againſt Scythia, as well as the incurſion made by the Scythians, who purſuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and made themſelves entire maſters of almoſt all the higher parts of Aſia; an incurſion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It ſurpaſſes alſo the famous expedition of the ſons of Atreus againſt Troy, as well as that of the Myſians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. Theſe nations, paſſing over the Boſphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian ſea, and thence as far as the ſouthern part of the river Peneus.

XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes. It would be difficult to ſpecify any nation of Aſia which did not accompany the Perſian monarch againſt Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhauſted by his armies. Some ſupplied ſhips, ſome a body of infantry, others of horſe; ſome provided tranſports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ſhips to ſerve as bridges; many alſo brought veſſels laden with corn, all which preparations were made for three years, to guard againſt a repetition of the calamities which the Perſian fleet had formerly ſuſtained in their attempts to double the promontory of mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Cherſoneſe, from whence de-

 tachments

tachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through mount Athos [24], with orders to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited; where it terminates on the land side it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian sea to that of Torone [25], which is oppo-

[24] *Through mount Athos.*]—This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than 200 miles from Athens: and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who from the time of the battle of Marathon had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation.—See Richardson farther on this subject, Dissertation, p. 312. Pococke, who visited mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—*T.*

[25] *Torone.*]—There were two places of this name, one on the coast of Epirus, the other this bay in Macedonia, where the roaring of the sea was so loud, that the expression *surdior Toronæo ponto*, became proverbial.—*T.*

ſite. Where mount Athos terminates, ſtands a Grecian city, called Sana; in the interior parts, betwixt Sana and the elevation of Athos, are ſituated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyſſum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. Theſe it was the object of the Perſians to detach from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner: the Barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, aſſigning to each nation their particular ſtation; then ſinking a deep trench, whilſt they at the bottom continued digging, the neareſt to them handed the earth to others ſtanding immediately above them upon ladders; it was thus progreſſively elevated, till it came to the ſummit, where they who ſtood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way, except in that part where the Phœnicians were employed, occaſioned a double labour; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other inſtances, the Phœnicians diſcovered their ſuperior ſagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was neceſſary; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the preſcribed dimenſions. In this part was a meadow, which was their public place for buſineſs and for commerce, and where a vaſt quantity of corn was imported from Aſia.

XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work [26] was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes a-breast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark [27] of the biblos, and of white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army was committed jointly to the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be depo-

[26] *In this work.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise de Ira cohibenda, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to mount Athos. It was to this effect: "Oh thou miserable Athos, whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work; if thou shalt do this I will cut thee in pieces, and cast thee into the sea."

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted upon the Hellespont; so that if one anecdote be true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

[27] *Of the bark.*]—The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word χορδη, chorde, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T.*

sited

fited in every more convenient fituation, which were fupplied by tranfports and veffels of burden, from the different parts of Afia. Of thefe the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coaft;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were feverally diftributed at Dorifcus, at Eïon on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. Whilft thefe things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all thofe troops were appointed to affemble who were to attend the king by land; who the commander was, that received from the king the promifed gifts, on account of the number and goodnefs of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I fay whether there was any competition on the fubject. Paffing the river Halys[28], they came to Phrygia, and advancing forwards, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as thofe of another river of equal fize with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which rifing in the public fquare of Celænæ, empties itfelf into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is

[28] *Halys.*]—If the reader will be pleafed to remember, that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Crœfus, it may lead to fome interefting and ufeful reflections on the progrefs of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T.*

ſuſpended the ſkin of Marſyas [29], which the Phrygians ſay was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, ſon of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence: he farther engaged to ſupply the king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to enquire of his Perſian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the reſources which enabled him to make theſe offers: "It is the ſame," they replied, "who preſented your father "Darius with a plane-tree and a vine of gold, "and who, next to yourſelf, is the richeſt of man-"kind [30]."

XXVIII.

[29] *Marſyas.*]—This ſtory muſt be ſufficiently familiar; ſee Ovid. Metamorph. l. vi. 382.

The puniſhment of Marſyas, ſays Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the firſt of all muſical inſtruments; after the introduction of the lyre, the flute came into diſrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pauſanias, deſcribing one of the pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, ſays, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained, amongſt other figures, Marſyas ſitting upon a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who ſeems to be learning to play on the flute.—*T.*

[30] *Richeſt of mankind.*]—Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the riches of individuals in more ancient times; among which this does not ſeem to be the leaſt marvellous. The ſum of which Pythius is ſaid to have been poſſeſſed amounted to

five

XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself what was the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing

five millions and a half of our sterling money: this is according to the estimate of Prideaux; that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says this last writer, "weighed eight modern louis d'ors; therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis d'ors." If so great then was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Montfaucon, relating the story of Pythius, adds these reflections:

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, besides giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, found himself still possessed of 7100 Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was four millions seven hundred ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise de Virtutibus Mulierum.—*T.*

 "from

" from you, nor affect ignorance; but as I am able " I will fairly tell you.—As soon as I heard of " your approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous " of giving you money for the war; on examining " into the state of my affairs, I found that I was " possessed of two thousand talents of silver, and " four millions, wanting only seven thousand, of " gold staters of Darius; all this I give you—my " slaves and my farms will be sufficient to main- " tain me."

XXIX. "My Lydian friend," returned Xerxes, much delighted, "since I first left Persia, you are " the only person who have treated my army with " hospitality, or who, appearing in my presence, " have voluntarily offered me a supply for the war: " you have done both; in acknowledgment for " which I offer you my friendship; you shall be " my host, and I will give you the seven thousand " staters, which are wanting to make your sum of " four millions compleat.—Retain, therefore, and " enjoy your property; persevere in your present " mode of conduct, which will invariably operate " to your happiness."

XXX. Xerxes having performed what he promised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phrygian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is made, he came to Colossæ[31]. This also is a city

[31] *Colossæ*]—or Colossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea, on

city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence; here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth, but at the distance of seven stadia it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia; here a pillar had been erected by Crœsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis: to those who go by the latter it is necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it [32] to one of the immortal band [33]; the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step

on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

[32] *The guard of it.*]—This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, l. ii. c. 14. but with no great point or humour. He remarks, that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of Barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.—*T.*

[33] *Immortal band.*]—See on this subject, chapter 83.

was

was to ſend heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations ſhould be made to entertain him. He did not, however, ſend either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities, was, the expectation that they who had before refuſed earth and water to Darius would, from their alarm at his approach, ſend it now; this he wiſhed poſitively to know.

XXXIII. Whilſt he was preparing to go to Abydos, others were employed in throwing a bridge over the Helleſpont, from Aſia to Europe: betwixt Seſtos and Madytus, in the Cherſoneſe of the Helleſpont, the coaſt towards the ſea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, ſon of Ariphron, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Antayctes, a Perſian, and governor of Seſtos, priſoner; he was crucified alive: he had formerly carried ſome females to the temple of Proteſilaus in Elæos, and perpetrated what is deteſtable.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was impoſed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the ſide next Abydos. The Phœnicians uſed a cordage made of linen, the Ægyptians the bark of the biblos: from Abydos to the oppoſite continent is a ſpace of ſeven ſtadia [34]. The bridge

[34] *Seven ſtadia.*]—The Helleſpont was ſo called by the ancients

bridge was no ſooner completed, than a great tempeſt aroſe, which tore in pieces and deſtroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was ſo enraged, that he ordered three hundred laſhes to be inflicted[35] on the Helleſpont, and

cients becauſe Helle, attempting to ſwim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardanelles, as well as the caſtles about the middle of it: the Turks give it the name of Bogas (the mouth or entrance.) The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Aſia light-houſe, about a league without Lamſac, and from the Europe light-houſe, half a league to the north of Gallipoli; the whole length is about twenty-ſix miles: the broadeſt part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Seſtus to Abydus only ſeven ſtadia.—*Pococke.*

On a reconnu dans ces derniers temps que ce trajet, le plus reſſerré de tout le detroit, n'eſt que d'environ 375 toiſes $\frac{1}{2}$, les ponts ayant 7 ſtades de longuer; M. d'Anville en a conclu que ces ſtades n'étoient que de 51 toiſes.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis.*

[35] *To be inflicted.*]—Juvenal makes a happy uſe of this hiſtorical anecdote, Sat. x. 179.

Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit Salamine relictâ
In corum atque Eurum ſolitus ſævire flagellis,
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere paſſos,
Ipſum compeditus qui vinxerat Ennoſigæum
Mitius id ſane, quod non et ſtigmate dignum
Credidit.

Of which lines this is Dryden's tranſlation:

But how did he return this haughty brave,
Who whipt the winds, and made the ſea his ſlave?

Tho'

and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the ſea. I have been informed that he even ſent ſome executioners to brand the Helleſpont with marks of ignominy; but it is certain, that he ordered them who inflicted the laſhes to uſe theſe barbarous and mad expreſſions: "Thou ungracious water, thy maſter "condemns thee to this puniſhment, for having "injured him without provocation. Xerxes the "king will paſs over thee, whether thou conſenteſt "or not: juſt is it that no man honours thee with "ſacrifice, for thou art inſidious, and of an ungrateful flavour." After thus treating the ſea, the king commanded thoſe who preſided over the conſtruction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. Theſe commands were executed by thoſe on whom that unpleaſing diſtinction was conferred. A bridge was then conſtructed by a different ſet of architects, who performed it in the following manner: they connected together ſhips of different kinds, ſome long veſſels of fifty-oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of three hundred and ſixty on the ſide towards the Euxine ſea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Helleſpont[36]. The former of theſe were placed tranſverſely,

Tho' Neptune took unkindly to be bound,
And Eurus never ſuch hard uſage found
In his Æolian priſon under ground.

The reader will obſerve that the more pointed part of the paſſage is totally omitted by Dryden.—*T.*

36 *On that of the Helleſpont.*]—It ſeems a matter of certainty that

transversely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, towards the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds[17]. They left, however, open-

that these numbers must be erroneous.—Vessels placed transversely must reach to a much greater extent than the same number placed side by side; yet here the greater number of ships is stated to have been on the side where they were arranged transversely, that is, across the channel, with their broadsides to the stream. What the true numbers were it is vain to conjecture, it is sufficient to have pointed out that the present must be wrong.—*T.*

17 *The south and south-east winds.*]—At first sight it appears that the west winds were most to be dreaded on that side; but the western side of the channel is sheltered by the shore of the Chersonese, and it turns in such a manner, as to bring the south-east winds, as well as the south, to act against that side. It seems extraordinary that no mention is here made of the current, as making anchors necessary on the upper side. I am tempted to think that some words expressing that circumstance have been lost from the text: we might perhaps read της ῥόης, και των ανεμων εινεκα, instead of της ἑτερης, των ανεμων: the first της ἑτερης being not necessary to the construction, though very consistent with it. I conceive each range of vessels to have been secured by anchors above and below, the transverse ships having them from each side, those placed with the current, at head and stern, so that there were in all four sets of anchors: or, perhaps, the cables extended from shore to shore secured each range of vessels on the inner side; if so, there would be only two sets of anchors, one from the upper sides of the transverse ships, the other from one end of those which lay side by side.—*T.*

ings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore [38], stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down upon the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length compleated, and the work at mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this last place being

[38] *Extended cables from the shore.*]—That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight, and the cables resting on the vessels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

choked

choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were ſunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis, but on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the ſpring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the ſun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmoſphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkeſt night ſucceeded. Xerxes, alarmed at the incident, conſulted the magi upon what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of Heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks; the ſun, they obſerved, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Perſia [39]. The anſwer was ſo ſatisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with encreaſed alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king; deriving confidence from the liberality he had ſhewn and received, he thus addreſſed him: "Sir," ſaid he, "I entreat a favour no leſs trifling to you than "important to myſelf." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to aſk, promiſed to grant it, and deſired to know what he would have. Pythius on this became ſtill more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five ſons, who are all with you in this

[39] *The moon was of Perſia.*]—Several of the Oriental nations worſhipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reproved for doing this by the prophet Jeremiah; ſee chap. xliv. 17.

"Let us ſacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her, &c."—*T.*

"Grecian

"Grecian expedition; I would entreat you to "pity my age, and dispense with the presence of "the eldest. Take with you the four others, but "leave this to manage my affairs; so may you re- "turn in safety, after the accomplishment of your "wishes."

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation[40], made this reply: "Infamous man! you see me embark "my all in this Grecian war; myself, my children, "my brothers, my domestics, and my friends; "how dare you then presume to mention your son, "you who are my slave, and whose duty it is to "accompany me on this occasion with all your fa- "mily, and even your wife[41]?—Remember this, "the spirit of a man resides in his ears; when he

[40] *Great indignation.*]—No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other, than those of Darius and Xerxes: that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity, it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes, on the contrary, was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling; and, viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or of real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign it to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality.—*T.*

[41] *Even your wife.*]—This expression may at first sight appear a little singular; its apparent absurdity vanishes, when we take into consideration the jealous care with which the Orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—*T.*

"hears

"hears what is agreeable to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all his body; but when the contrary happens he is anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct was good, and your promises yet better, you still cannot boast of having surpassed the king in liberality. Although your present behaviour is base and insolent, you shall be punished less severely than you deserve: your former hospitality preserves yourself and four of your children; the fifth, whom you most regard, shall pay the penalty of your crime." As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two; he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, whilst the army continued their march betwixt them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order: first of all went those who had the care of the baggage; they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army; after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where was the king; next came a thousand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spear-men, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon the ground; behind these were ten sacred horses called Nisæan[42], with very superb

[42] *Nisæan.*]—Suidas says, that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness; see article Νισαιον.—*T.*

trappings (they take their name from a certain diſtrict in Media, called Niſæus, and remarkable for producing horſes of an extraordinary ſize); the ſacred car of Jupiter was next in the proceſſion, it was drawn by eight white horſes, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal is permitted to ſit in this car; then came Xerxes himſelf, in a chariot [43] drawn by Niſæan horſes; by his ſide ſate his charioteer, whoſe name was Patiramphes, ſon of Otanes the Perſian.

XLI. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occaſion required he left his chariot for a common carriage [44]. A thouſand of the firſt and nobleſt Perſians attended

[43] *In a chariot.*]—The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—*T.*

[44] *Common carriage.*]—Of the Harmamaxe Larcher remarks, that it was a carriage appropriate to females. The Greek carriages were diſtinguiſhed by the different names of αρμα, αμαξα, and οχημα.

"The firſt heroes," ſays Lucretius, "were mounted on horſes, for chariots were a more modern invention."—See book v.

Et prius eſt reppertum in equi conſcendere coſtas,
Et moderanter hunc frænis dextraque vigere
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd ſteeds, in ancient time,
Before the uſe of chariots was brought in,
The firſt brave heroes fought.

See alſo Potter's Antiquities of Greece, on the Grecian chariots.—*T.*

his

his perſon, bearing their ſpears according to the cuſtom of their country; and a thouſand horſe, ſelected like the former, immediately ſucceeded. A body of ten thouſand choſen infantry came next; a thouſand of theſe had at the extremity of their ſpears a pomegranate of gold, the remaining nine thouſand, whom the former encloſed, had in the ſame manner pomegranates of ſilver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their ſpears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had, as we have deſcribed, golden pomegranates: theſe ten thouſand foot were followed by an equal number of Perſian cavalry; at an interval of about two furlongs followed a numerous, irregular, and promiſcuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caïcus to Myſia, and leaving mount Canæ on the left, proceeded through Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving hence over the plains of Thebes, and paſſing by Adramythium and Antandros, a Pelaſgian city, they left mount Ida to the left, and entered the diſtrict of Ilium. In the very firſt night which they paſſed under Ida, a furious ſtorm of thunder and lightning aroſe, which deſtroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander[45]; this river firſt of all, after their departure from Sardis,

[45] *Scamander.*]—See Homer:

Ον Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.

Which the gods call Xanthus, mortals Scamander.

failed in ſupplying them with a quantity of water ſufficient for their troops and beaſts of burden.

XLIII. On his arrival at this river, Xerxes aſcended the citadel of Priam, deſirous of examining the place. Having ſurveyed it attentively, and ſatiſfied himſelf concerning it, he ordered a thouſand oxen to be ſacrificed to the Trojan Minerva [46], at the ſame time the magi directed libations to be offered to the manes of the heroes; when this was done a panic ſpread itſelf in the night through the army. At the dawn of morning they moved forwards, leaving to the left the towns of Rhœtion, Ophryneon, and Dardanus, which laſt is very near Abydos: the Gergithæ and Teucri were to their right.

XLIV. On their arrival at Abydos, Xerxes deſired to take a ſurvey of all his army: the inhabi-

[46] *Trojan Minerva.*]—The temple of the Trojan Minerva was in the citadel. The ſtory of the Palladium, how eſſential it was deemed to the preſervation of Troy, and how it was ſurreptitiouſly removed by Diomed and Ulyſſes, muſt be ſufficiently known. See in particular the ſpeech of Ulyſſes, in the 13th book of the Metamorphoſes:

> Quam rapui Phrygiæ ſignum penetrale Minervæ
> Hoſtibus e mediis et ſe mihi comparat Ajax?
> Nempe capi Trojam prohibebant fata ſine illo.
> * * * * * *
> Verum etiam ſummas arces intrare, ſuâque
> Eripere æde deam, &c.

Alexander the Great, when he viſited Troy, did not omit offering ſacrifice to the Trojan Minerva.—*T.*

tants

tants had, at his previous desire, constructed for him, on an eminence, a seat of white marble; upon this he sate, and directing his eyes to the shore, beheld at one view his land and sea forces. He next wished to see a naval combat [47]; one was accordingly exhibited before him, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were victorious. The view of this contest, as well as of the number of his forces, delighted Xerxes exceedingly.

XLV. When the king beheld all the Hellespont crowded with ships, and all the shore, with the plains of Abydos, covered with his troops, he at first congratulated himself as happy, but he afterwards burst into tears [48].

XLVI.

[47] *Naval combat.*]—The Naumachiæ constituted one of the grandest of the Roman shews, and were first exhibited at the end of the first Punic war: they were originally intended to improve the Romans in naval discipline; but in more luxurious times they were never displayed from this motive, but to indulge private ostentation, or the public curiosity.

Lampridius relates of Heliogabalus, that the artificial lake in which the vessels were to appear at a public naumachia was by his command filled with wine instead of water.—*T.*

[48] *Into tears.*]—

As down
Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind;
While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive.
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud;

Was

XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with ſo much freedom had at firſt oppoſed the expedition againſt Greece, obſerved the king's emotion: "How different, Sir," ſaid he, addreſſing him, "is your preſent behaviour, from what it "was a few minutes ſince! you then eſteemed "yourſelf happy, you now are diſſolved in tears." "My reflection," anſwered Xerxes, "on the tranſitory period of human life, excited my compaſſion for this vaſt multitude, not one of whom "will compleat the term of an hundred years." "This," returned Artabanus, "is not to be reckoned "the greateſt calamity to which human beings are "expoſed; for, ſhort as life is, there is no one in

Was it that once humanity could touch
A tyrant's breaſt? Or rather did thy ſoul
Repine, oh Xerxes, at the bitter thought
That all thy pow'r was mortal? *Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca juſtly points out the inconſiſtency of theſe tears: "The very man," ſays he, "who ſhed them was about to precipitate their fate, loſing ſome by land, ſome by ſea, ſome in battle, ſome in flight, in a word deſtroying within a very little ſpace of time that multitude, whoſe death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—*De Brev. Vitæ*, c. xvii. —He alſo aſſigns, as the truer cauſe of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expreſſed the thought of Seneca with ſome improvement: "He might have found another ſubject of reflection, which would have more juſtly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himſelf, and conſidered the reproaches he deſerved, for being the inſtrument of ſhortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to ſacrifice in an unjuſt and unneceſſary war." The younger Pliny rather juſtifies his tears, *Ep.* iii. 7.—*T.*

"this multitude, nor indeed in the univerſe, who "has been ſo truly happy, as not repeatedly to "have deſired death rather than life. The op-"preſſions of misfortune, and the pangs of diſeaſe, "render the ſhort hours of life tedious and painful: "death thus becomes the moſt delightful refuge of "the unfortunate; and perhaps the invidiouſneſs of "the deity is moſt apparent, by the very pleaſures "we are ſuffered to enjoy."

XLVII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "human "life is what you repreſent it; but we will omit "reflecting upon what fills us with uneaſineſs, and "enjoy the pleaſures which are before us: rather "tell me, has the viſion which you ſaw impreſſed "full conviction on your mind, or do your former "ſentiments incline you to diſſuade me from this "Grecian war?—ſpeak without reſerve." "May "the viſion, O king," replied Artabanus, "which "we have mutually ſeen, ſucceed to both our "wiſhes! For my own part I am ſtill ſo full of ap-"prehenſions, as not at all to be maſter of myſelf: "after reflecting ſeriouſly on the ſubject, I diſcern "two important things, exceedingly hoſtile to your "views."

XLVIII. "What, my good friend, can theſe two "things poſſibly be?" replied Xerxes; "do you think "unfavourably of our land army, as not being ſuf-"ficiently numerous? Do you imagine the Greeks "will be able to collect one more powerful? Can "you conceive our fleet inferior to that of our "enemies?

"enemies?—or do both these considerations together "distress you? If our force does not seem to you "sufficiently effective, reinforcements may soon be "provided."

XLIX. "No one, Sir," answered Artabanus, "in his proper senses, could object either to your "army, or to the multitude of your fleet: should "you encrease their number, the more hostile "would the two things be of which I speak; I "allude to the land and the sea. In case of any "sudden tempest, you will find no harbour, as I "conjecture, sufficiently capacious or convenient "for the protection of your fleet; no one port "would answer this purpose, you must have the "whole extent of the continent; your being without a resource of this kind should induce you "to remember that fortune commands men [49], and "not men fortune. This is one of the calamities "which threaten you; I will now explain the "other: The land is also your enemy; your meeting with no resistance will render it more so, as "you will be thus seduced imperceptibly to ad-

[49] *Fortune commands men.*]—This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes, ix. 11.

"I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:

Chance is direction which thou canst not see. *T.*

"vance;

"vance; it is the nature of man, never to be ſatisfied with ſucceſs: thus, having no enemy to encounter, every moment of time, and addition to your progreſs, will be gradually introductive of famine. He, therefore, who is truly wiſe, will as carefully deliberate about the poſſible event of things, as he will be bold and intrepid in action [50]."

L. Xerxes made this reply: "What you alledge, Artabanus, is certainly reaſonable; but you ſhould not ſo much give way to fear, as to ſee every thing in the worſt point of view: if in conſulting upon any matter we were to be influenced by the conſideration of every poſſible contingency, we ſhould execute nothing. It is better to ſubmit to half of the evil which may be the reſult of any meaſure, than to remain in inactivity from the fear of what may eventually occur. If you oppoſe ſuch ſentiments as have been delivered, without informing us what more proper conduct to purſue, you are not more deſerving of praiſe than they are whom you oppoſe. I am of opinion that no man is qualified to ſpeak upon any ſubject with deciſion: they who are bold and enterpriſing are more frequently ſucceſsful than they who are ſlow in their mea-

[50] *Intrepid in action.*]—Larcher quotes, as a parallel paſſage to this, theſe words from Salluſt—Catilin. c. i.

Prius quam incipias conſulto, et ubi conſulieris mature facto opus eſt.

"sures from extreme deliberation. You are sensible to what a height the power of Persia has arrived, which would never have been the case, if my predecessors had either been biassed by such sentiments as yours, or listened to such advisers: it was their contempt of danger which promoted their country's glory, for great exploits are always attended with proportionable danger [51]. We, therefore, emulous of their reputation, have selected the best season of the year for our enterprize; and having effectually conquered Europe, we will return without experience of famine or any other calamity: we have with us abundance of provisions, and the nations amongst which we arrive will supply us with corn, for they against whom we advance are not shepherds, but husbandmen."

LI. "Since, Sir," returned Artabanus, "you will suffer no mention to be made of fear, at least listen to my advice: where a number of

[51] *Proportionable danger.*]—

The steep ascent must be with toil subdu'd;
  Watchings and cares must win the lofty prize
Propos'd by heaven—true bliss, and real good.
  Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,
She spurns the timorous, indolent, and base;
  Danger and toil stand stern before her throne,
And guard, so Jove commands, the sacred place:
  Who seeks her must the mighty cost sustain,
And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain.
Choice of Hercules.

"things

"things are to be difcuffed, prolixity is unavoid-
"able.—Cyrus, fon of Cambyfes, made all Ionia
"tributary to Perfia, Athens excepted; do not,
"therefore, I entreat you, lead thefe men againft
"thofe from whom they are immediately defcended:
"without the Ionians, we are more than a fuf-
"ficient match for our opponents. They muft
"either be moft bafe, by affifting to reduce the
"principal city of their country; or, by contri-
"buting to its freedom, will do what is moft
"juft. If they fhall prove the former, they can
"render us no material fervice; if the latter,
"they may bring deftruction on your army. Re-
"member, therefore, the truth of the ancient
"proverb, When we commence a thing we can-
"not always tell how it will end [52]."

LII. "Artabanus," interrupted Xerxes, "your
"fufpicions of the fidelity of the Ionians muft
"be falfe and injurious; of their conftancy we
"have had fufficient teftimony, as you yourfelf
"muft be convinced, as well as all thofe who ferved

[52] *Will end.*]—

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginofa nocte premit deus
Ridetque fi mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat, &c. *Hor.*

See alfo Pindar, in Olympiis:

Νυν δ' ελπομαι μεν, εν θεῳ γε παν τελος.

We may hope indeed, but the event is with God alone. *T.*

"under

" under Darius against the Scythians. It was in their " power to save or to destroy all the forces of " Persia, but they preserved their faith, their " honour, and their gratitude; add to this, they " have left in our dominions their wives, their " children, and their wealth, and therefore dare " not meditate any thing against us. Indulge, " therefore no apprehensions, but chearfully watch " over my family, and preserve my authority: to " you I commit the exercise of my power."

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met he thus addressed them: " My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, is to " entreat you to behave like men, and not dishonour the many great exploits of our ancestors: " let us individually and collectively exert ourselves. " We are engaged in a common cause; and I the " rather call upon you to display your valour, " because I understand we are advancing against a " warlike people, whom if we overcome no one " will in future dare oppose us. Let us, therefore, " proceed, having first implored the aid of the gods " of Persia."

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass the bridge: the next morning, whilst they waited for the rising of the sun, they burned on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with branches

branches of myrtle [53]. When the ſun appeared, Xerxes poured into the ſea a libation from a golden veſſel, and then addreſſing the ſun, he implored him to avert from the Perſians every calamity, till they ſhould totally have vanquiſhed Europe, arriving at its extremeſt limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Helleſpont, together with a golden goblet, and a Perſian ſcymetar. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing theſe things into the Helleſpont, intended to make an offering to the ſun, or whether he wiſhed thus to make compenſation to the ſea for having formerly chaſtiſed it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and the horſe were made to paſs over that part of the bridge which was towards the Euxine; over that

[53] *Branches of myrtle.*]—The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expreſſive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal-day; and friends preſented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is ſaid to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reaſon it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably from this reaſon, that when all other flowers and ſhrubs might be uſed in the feſtival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded.—See Roſinus. Harmodius and Ariſtogiton before mentioned, when they ſlew the Athenian tyrant, had their ſwords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle; of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæus, Sir William Jones has made a happy uſe in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the paſſage. —*T.*

to the Ægean went the ſervants of the camp, and the beaſts of burden. They were preceded by ten thouſand Perſians, having garlands on their heads; and theſe were followed by a promiſcuous multitude of all nations;—theſe paſſed on the firſt day. The firſt who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their ſpears; theſe alſo had garlands on their heads: next came the ſacred horſes, and the ſacred car; afterwards Xerxes himſelf, who was followed by a body of ſpear-men, and a thouſand knights. The remainder of the army cloſed the proceſſion, and at the ſame time the fleet moved to the oppoſite ſhore: I have heard from ſome, that the king himſelf was the laſt who paſſed the bridge.

LVI. As ſoon as Xerxes had ſet foot in Europe, he ſaw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and ſeven whole days and as many nights were conſumed in the paſſage of his army. When Xerxes had paſſed the Helleſpont, an inhabitant of the country is ſaid to have exclaimed: "Why, O Jupiter, under the appearance of a "Perſian, and for the name of Jupiter taking that "of Xerxes, art thou come to diſtract and perſe- "cute Greece? or why bring ſo vaſt a multitude, "when able to accompliſh thy purpoſe without "them?"

LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy ap-

peared,

peared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare[54]: from this it might have been inferred, that Xerxes, who had led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. Whilst yet at Sardis, he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one, which had the marks of both sexes, those of the male being beneath.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, whilst his fleet, passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed towards the west to the promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to remain; the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonese, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas; on their left the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they

[54] *Brought forth a hare.*]—In Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis, chap. xxxiii. p. 20, we have an account no less remarkable, L. Posthumio Albino, Sempronio Gracco Coss. mare arsit, ad Sinuessam *bos equuleum peperit.*

See also the same book, on the subject of a mule's producing young.

Mula pariens, discordiam civium, bonorum interitum, mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus significavit.—This was always deemed an unfortunate omen. See Pliny, book viii. c. 44. That mules never do produce young I have before observed.—*T.* false

turned

turned aſide to the gulph of Melana, and a river of the ſame name, the waters of which were not ſufficient for the troops. Having paſſed this river, which gives its name to the above-mentioned gulph, they directed their march weſtward, and paſſing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the lake Stertoris, they came to Doriſcus.

LIX. Doriſcus is on the coaſt, and is a ſpacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriſcus, in which Dorius, in his expedition againſt Scythia, had placed a Perſian garriſon. This appearing a proper place for the purpoſe, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marſhalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the ſhore near Doriſcus, their officers ranged them in order near where Sala, a Samothracian town[55], and Zena

[55] *Samothracian town.*]—See Bellanger's remarks on this paſſage, in his Eſſais de Critique, where with great humour he compliments our countryman Littlebury, for kindly making his readers a preſent of two cities which never exiſted. Littlebury has rendered the paſſage thus.

"Xerxes commanded the ſea captains to bring all their ſhips to the ſhore that lay neareſt to Doriſcus, where the cities of Sala, Samothracia, and Zena are ſituate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous promontory formerly belonging to the Ciconians."

Voila, ce me ſemble (ſays Bellanger) deux villes a pur gain, Samothracia avec une autre appellée Serrium. C'eſt de quoi enrichir les grands dictionnaires géographiques.

I have ſtudiouſly avoided pointing out any errors I may have diſcovered in Littlebury, from the fear of being thought invidious;

Zena are ſituated. At the extremity of this ſhore is the celebrated promontory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians. The crews having brought their veſſels to ſhore [56], enjoyed an interval of repoſe, whilſt Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriſcus.

LX. I am not able to ſpecify what number of men each nation ſupplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was ſeventeen hundred thouſand [57]. Their mode of aſcertaining

dious; I ſhould not have done it in this inſtance, but that I wiſhed to direct the reader to an excellent piece of criticiſm, which will at the ſame time reward his attention, and juſtify me. —*T.*

56 *Veſſels to ſhore.*]—As the veſſels were not in thoſe times ſo conſiderable as ours, they drew them on ſhore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place. This cuſtom, which we learn from Homer was in uſe in the time of the Trojan war, was alſo practiſed in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other hiſtorians.—*Larcher.*

57 *Seventeen hundred thouſand.*]—I remain ſtill in doubt, ſays Richardſon, whether any ſuch expedition was ever undertaken by the *paramount ſovereign of Perſia.* Diſguiſed in name by ſome Greek corruption, Xerxes may poſſibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the weſtern diſtricts; and that an invaſion of Greece may have poſſibly taken place under this prince, I ſhall readily believe, but upon a ſcale I muſt alſo believe infinitely narrower than the leaſt exaggerated deſcription of the Greek hiſtorians.

In Herodotus the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Iſocrates, in his Panathenaicos, eſtimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch

ascertaining the number was this: they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these stand together as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. Dismissing these, they enclosed

tarch in general agrees: but such myriads appeared to Didorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistake of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson.*

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows:

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependant on Persia were slaves; they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaire has omitted to make—where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds, but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall appropriate to our own use."

Subsequent writers have, it is true, differed from Herodotus, and diminished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a cotemporary, and who recited his history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where were many who fought at Salamis and Platea, is more deserving of credit than later historians.

The truth perhaps may lie betwixt the two different opinions of Richardson and Larcher. It is not likely, as there were many

enclosed the circle with a wall breast high; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. To speak of the Persians first, who wore small helmets on their heads, which they call tiaræ: their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called gerra, beneath which was a quiver[58]. They

many exiles from Greece at the court of Persia, that Xerxes should be ignorant of the numbers and resources of Greece. To lead there so many millions seems at first sight not only unnecessary but preposterous. Admitting that so vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms: whilst, on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to Richardson, that the expedition actually took place; but I cannot think, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotus are consistent with probability.—*T.*

[58] *A quiver.*]—It is probable from this account, says Larcher, that on their march the Persians did not carry their shields in their hands, but suspended behind from their shoulders.

 had

had ſhort ſpears[59], large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right ſide a dagger ſuſpended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Ameſtris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Perſians were once called Cephenes by the Greeks; by themſelves and their neighbours Artæi. But when Perſeus, the ſon of Danae and Jupiter, went to reſide with Cepheus ſon of Belus, he married his daughter Andromeda, and had by her a ſon named Perſes, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Perſians took their name from his grandſon Perſes.

LXII. The Medes had the ſame military dreſs; indeed, properly ſpeaking, it is Median and not Perſian. Their leader was Tigranes, of the family of Achæmenides. In ancient times the Medes were univerſally called Arii; but when Medea of Colchis went over to theſe Arii from Athens, they changed their name; this is what they ſay of themſelves. The armour of the Ciſſians generally reſembled that of the Perſians, except that inſtead of tiaræ they wore mitres: they were commanded by Anaphes, ſon of Otanes. The Hyrcani were alſo dreſſed like the Perſians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterwards governor of Babylon.

59 *Short ſpears.*]—The reader will find an excellent deſcription of theſe military habits in Montfaucon, and by no means an inelegant or incorrect one in the Leonidas of our countryman Glover.—*T.*

LXIII.

LXIII. The Aſſyrian forces had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and difficult to deſcribe. Their ſhields, ſpears, and daggers, were like thoſe of the Ægyptians; they had alſo large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuiraſſes. Theſe people the Greeks call Syrians, the Barbarians Aſſyrians; mixt with theſe were the Chaldæans: the whole were under the conduct of Otaſpes, ſon of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, moſt reſembled the Medes, but after the cuſtom of their country they uſed bows made of reeds, and ſhort ſpears. The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had helmets terminating in a point, and wore breeches. They were alſo armed in their country manner with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called ſagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ, the name given by the Perſians indiſcriminately to all Scythians. Hyſtaſpes, ſon of Darius by Atoſſa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dreſs of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds, as were alſo their arrows, which were pointed with iron: their leader was Pharnazathres, ſon of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other reſpects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command of Siſamnes ſon of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians [60], Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gardarians, and the Dadicæ, had the same armour as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes son of Artæus commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius son of Artabanus the Gardarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins: they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and scymetars. Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius conducted them. The Sarangæ had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins like the Medes, and Pherendates the son of Megabazus commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins, bows and daggers after the manner of their country, and Artyntes son of Ithamatres was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Myci, and Paricanii, were armed like the Pactyes. The Utii and Myci had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius: Sirometris the son of Œobazus conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests,

[60] *Parthians, &c.*]—Various and numerous as these confederates of Xerxes are here described, Lucan, in a poetical hyperbole, affirms, that the allies of Pompey were still more so.—See *L.* iii. 285.—*T.*

which

which they call ziræ: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Æthiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not lefs than four cubits long. Their arrows were fhort, and made of reeds, inftead of iron they were pointed with a ftone which they ufe to cut their feals. They had alfo fpears armed with the horns of goats, fhaped like the iron of a lance; and befides thefe, knotty clubs. It is the cuftom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypfum, the other with vermilion. Arfanes fon of Darius by Artyftone a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and the Æthiopians who came from above Ægypt. Of all his wives, Darius loved Artyftone the moft, and he conftructed a golden ftatue in her honour.

LXX. Thofe Æthiopians who came from the more eaftern parts of their country (for there were two diftinct bodies in this expedition) ferved with the Indians. Thefe differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hair. The Oriental Æthiopians have their hair ftraight, thofe of Africa have their hair more crifp and curling than any other men. The armour of the Afiatic Æthiopians refembled that of the Indians, but on their heads they wore the fkins of horfes heads[61],

[61] *Horfes heads.*]—Thefe helmets were, according to the defcription of Cæfar in his Commentaries, very common amongft the ancient Germans.—*T.*

on which the manes and ears were left. The manes ſerved as the plumes, and the ears remained ſtiff and erect. Inſtead of ſhields they held out before them the ſkins of cranes.

LXXI. The Lybians were dreſſed in ſkins, and had the points of their ſpears hardened in the fire. They were conducted by Maſſages, ſon of Oarizus.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of net-work; they had ſmall ſpears and bucklers, beſides javelins and daggers. Agreeably to the faſhion of their country, they had buſkins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. Theſe Syrians are by the Perſians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, ſon of Megaſidras. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, ſon of Darius and Artyſtone.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on paſſing over into Aſia they took the name of Phrygians[62]. The Armenians are

[62] *Phrygians.*]—Arrian tells us that the Phrygians were *reported* to be the oldeſt of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων. Cited by Euſt. in Com. in Dion. p. 809. The reader will

are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meonians [63]; but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the ſon of Atys. The Nyſians wore the helmets of their country, had ſmall ſhields, and javelins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from mount Olympus. Theſe two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, ſon of that Artaphernes who in conjunction with Datis had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads ſkins of foxes; the other part of their dreſs conſiſted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours: they had alſo buſkins made of the ſkins of fawns, and were armed with

will remember that this was diſputed with them by the Ægyptians, but given up after the expedient uſed by Pſammatichus. —*T.*

63 *Meonians.*]—Bochart deduces this name from the Greek Μαινεσθαι, and their after-name Lydi from the Hebrew. But it does not ſeem probable that the oldeſt name ſhould be taken from the Greek, and the later from the Hebrew language. What is yet farther removed from conſiſtency, he places a deſcendant of Shem in the lot of Japhet, and ſuppoſes the Lydians to be the children of Ludim. From him I preſume they would have been called Lydimi, not Lydi.—See the invention of games imputed to this people, book i. c. 94.—*T.*

javelins,

javelins, ſmall bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themſelves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; but passing over into Aſia, were named Bithynians. They ſay they were expelled their country by the Teucrians and the Myſians.

LXXVI. Baſſaces ſon of Artabanus commanded the Thracians of Aſia; theſe uſed ſhort bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian ſpears: they had alſo helmets of braſs, on the ſummit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made alſo of braſs, together with a creſt. On their legs they had purple buſkins. This people have amongſt them an oracle of Mars [64].

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians [65], who are alſo called Laſonians, were habited like the Cilicians, which I ſhall deſcribe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried ſhort ſpears, their veſts confined with claſps; ſome of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all theſe Badres ſon of Hyſtanes was commander. The Moſchi had

64 *Oracle of Mars.*]—It is thought by ſome, that here is ſomething wanting; for the deſcription which by the context ſeems here to be given of the Thracians, with truth will apply neither to the Thracians of Aſia nor of Europe. Weſſeling preſumes that they may be the Chalybians, amongſt whom was an oracle of Mars, and who were neighbours to the nations here deſcribed by Herodotus. Larcher alſo is of this opinion.

65 *Cabalian Meonians.*]—Theſe were probably the ſame people who are mentioned book iii. c. 90, the change of the *a* for *e* being agreeable to the Ionic dialect.

helmets of wood, ſmall bucklers, and ſhort ſpears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Moſynœci, were in all reſpects habited like the Moſchi. Ariomardus ſon of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, ſon of Cyrus, commanded the Moſchi and the Tibareni. Artayctes ſon of Choraſmes, who was governor of Seſtos on the Helleſpont, conducted the Macrones and Moſynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares, after the faſhion of their country, had net-work caſques, ſmall leathern bucklers, and ſpears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, ſmall bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, ſhort ſpears, and ſwords. Pharandates ſon of Teaſpes commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saſpines were dreſſed like the Colchians, and led by Maſiſtius ſon of Siromitras.

LXXX. The people who came from the iſlands of the Red Sea, to which thoſe who labour under the king's diſpleaſure are exiled, were habited and armed like the Medes: they were led by Mardontes ſon of Bagæus, who two years afterwards was ſlain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. Theſe were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and compoſed the infantry of the army. Their leaders who marſhalled and numbered

bered them, I have already specified: they appointed also the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers, but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals in chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Otanes, which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles of Xerxes. To the above may be added Masistes, son of Darius by Atossa, Gergis son of Arinus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus [66].

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band, and for this reason, if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more nor less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not only in magnificence but valour. Their armour I have before described; they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them:

66 *Zopyrus.*]—This was the famous Zopyrus through whose means Darius became master of Babylon.—See book iii, c. 160. —*T.*

they

they had with them carriages for their women, and a vaſt number of attendants ſplendidly provided. They had alſo camels and beaſts of burden to carry their proviſions, beſides thoſe for the common occaſions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of ſerving on horſeback; but on this expedition thoſe only conſtituted the cavalry which I ſhall enumerate. The Perſian horſe, except a ſmall number, whoſe caſques were ornamented with braſs and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thouſand horſe. Theſe people lead a paſtoral life, were originally of Perſian deſcent, and uſe the Perſian language: their dreſs is ſomething betwixt the Perſian and the Pactyan; they have no offenſive weapons, either of iron or braſs, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twiſted leather, which they uſe in this manner: when they engage an enemy, they throw out theſe cords, having a nooſe at the extremity; if they entangle[67] in them either horſe or man, they without difficulty put them to death.

[67] *If they entangle.*]—A ſimilar mode of fighting was practiſed by thoſe of the Roman gladiators who were called the Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity preſented itſelf, they threw over the head of their adverſaries the Secutores, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a kind of trident which conſtituted their offenſive weapon.—*T.*

death.—Theſe forces were embodied with the Perſians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and alſo of the Ciſſians, are accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horſe likewiſe were armed like their foot; but beſides led horſes, they had chariots of war, drawn by horſes and wild aſſes[68]. The armour of the Bactrian and Caſpian horſe and foot were alike. This was alſo the caſe with the Africans, only it is to be obſerved that theſe laſt all fought from chariots. The Parıcanian horſe were alſo equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horſe in ſwiftneſs.

LXXXVII. Theſe were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thouſand, excluſive of camels or chariots. They were drawn up in regular order, and the Arabians were diſpoſed in the rear, that the horſes might not be terrified, as a horſe cannot bear a camel[69].

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the ſons of Datis, commanded the cavalry; they had

[68] *Wild aſſes.*]—M. Larcher renders ονοι αγριοι, zebres, but I do not ſee that this neceſſarily follows. The zebra is certainly a ſpecies of wild aſs; but I conceive that every wild aſs is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild aſſes very diſtinct from the zebræ. The French tranſlator ſupports his opinion from the deſcription of the ονος αγριος in Oppian, L. iii. v. 183; but this is by no means convincing to me.—*T.*

[69] *Cannot bear a camel.*]—See note 116 to book Clio.

ſhared

shared this command with Pharnuches, but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an unfortunate accident: a dog ran under the feet of his horse, which being terrified, reared up, and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven [70]; of these the Phœnicians,

70 *Twelve hundred and seven.*]—I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:

The Phœnician vessels were	300
Ægyptians	200
Cyprians	150
Cilicians	100
Pamphylians	30
Lycians	50
Dorians	30
Carians	70
Ionians	100
Islanders	17
Æolians	60
People of the Hellespont	100
	1,207

According

cians, in conjunction with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. They who served on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breast-plates made of linen, bucklers without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea [71], but mi-

According to Diodorus Siculus,

The Greeks had - - -	320
The Dorians - - -	40
Æolians - - -	40
Ionians - - -	100
Hellespontians - - -	80
Islanders - - -	50
Ægyptians - - -	200
Phœnicians - - -	300
Cilicians - - -	80
Carians - - -	80
Pamphylians - - -	40
Lycians - - -	40
Cyprians - - -	150
	1,200

[71] *Coasts of the Red Sea.*]—There were Phœnicians of different countries: they were to be found upon the Sinus Persicus, upon the Sinus Arabicus, in Ægypt, in Crete, in Africa, in Epirus, and even in Attica.—See *Hesychius*. Φοινικες γενος τι Αθηνησι. There is a race of Phœnicians among the Athenians. In short, it was a title introduced at Sidon and the coast adjoining, by people from Ægypt; and who the people were that brought it, may be known from several passages in ancient history, but particularly from an extract in Eusebius.—See *Bryant*, vol. i. 324, 325.

grated

grated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria; all which diſtrict, as far as Ægypt, is denominated Paleſtine. The Ægyptians furniſhed two hundred veſſels: they wore on their heads caſques made of net-work; their ſhields were of a convex form, having large boſſes; their ſpears were calculated for ſea ſervice, and they had huge battle-axes. Their forces in general had breaſt-plates, and large ſwords.

XC. The people of Cyprus ſupplied fifty veſſels: as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads; the troops wore tunics, but were in other reſpects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variouſly compoſed of the people of Salamis and Athens; ſome alſo came from Arcadia, ſome from Cythnus, others from Phœnicia, and others from Æthiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ſhips. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their country, and a ſmall buckler made of the untanned hide of an ox; they had alſo tunics of wool: each of them had two ſpears, and a ſword not unlike thoſe of Ægypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans: they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phœnician, the ſon of Agenor. The Pamphylians brought thirty ſhips, and were accoutred like the Greeks: they are deſcended from thoſe who

after the destruction of Troy were dispersed under Amphilochus and Calchas [72].

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breast-plates and a kind of buskin: besides their spears, they had bows made of cornil wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are descended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterwards they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnese, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every re-

[72] *Calchas.*]—With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few perhaps know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Marto and Apollo, had at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About this period Calchas, who after the taking of Troy led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus king of Lycia terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher.*

ſpect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name by which they were originally known.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ſhips. According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponneſe called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus, were called the Pelaſgian Ægialians. They were afterwards named Ionians, from Ion ſon of Xuthus.

XCV. The iſlanders [73], in Grecian arms, were in ſeventeen veſſels. Theſe, once Pelaſgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the ſame reaſon as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought ſixty ſhips, and were armed in the Grecian manner: theſe alſo, according to the

[73] *The iſlanders.*]—Theſe Ionian iſlanders could not be either thoſe of Chios or of Samos. Theſe aſſembled at the Panionium, and were a part of the twelve cities, which theſe iſlanders were not. Diodorus Siculus adds alſo the inhabitants of Chios and of Samos to the Ionians, and makes, like Herodotus, a diſtinction betwixt them and the iſlanders. But who then were they? Diodorus Siculus informs us. The king, ſays he, was joined by all thoſe iſlands betwixt the Cyaneæ and the promontories of Triopium and Surium. Thus it appears that they were the iſles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins have it, Naxos, Sephros, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Tienian, and founded by the Athenians, as appears from Herodotus, book viii. chap. 46, 48; and from Thucydides, book vii. c. 57, where it ſhould be read Τηνιοι and not Τηιοι.—*Valcnaer.*

 Greeks,

Greeks, were once Pelaſgi. The inhabitants of the Helleſpont, thoſe of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furniſhed one hundred veſſels: thoſe of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Helleſpontians, being a mixt colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of theſe veſſels were detachments of Medes, Perſians, and Sacæ. The beſt mariners were the Phœnicians, and of the people of Phœnicia the Sidonians. The ſea and land forces of all theſe nations were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not eſſential to our purpoſe, we ſhall omit. It would indeed prove an unintereſting labour, as every city had its own commander, who without any great diſtinction or authority merely helped to ſwell the maſs of the army. Thoſe who had the principal conduct of the war I have already enumerated, as well as the Perſian officers to whom the command of each nation was aſſigned.

XCVII. The commanders in chief of the ſea forces were, Ariabignes ſon of Darius, Prexaſpes ſon of Aſpathines, and Megabyzus, ſon of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another ſon of Darius: of theſe, Ariabignes ſon of Darius, by a daughter of Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Ægyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both

on

on the father and mother's ſide. The two other generals conducted the reſt of the fleet to the amount of three thouſand veſſels, which were compoſed of veſſels of thirty and fifty oars, of Cercuri[74], and of long tranſports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more diſtinguiſhed officers of the fleet were the Sidonian Tetramneſtus, ſon of Anyſus; Martes of Tyre, ſon of Siromus; Nerbalus the Aradian, ſon of Agbalus; the Cilician Syenneſis, ſon of Oromedon; and Cyberniſcus the ſon of Sicas. To theſe may be added Gortes ſon of Cherſis, and Timonax ſon of Timagoras, both of them Cyprians, with the three Carian leaders, Hiſtiæus ſon of Tymnis, Pigres ſon of Seldomus, and Damaſithymus ſon of Candaules.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to ſpecify, it not appearing neceſſary; but it is impoſſible not to ſpeak, and with admiration, of Artemiſia[75], who, though

[74] *Cencuri.*]—Theſe, according to Pliny, were a particular kind of veſſel, invented by the Cyprians.

[75] *Artemiſia.*]—There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of Caria, from which circumſtance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. Pliny, Hardouin, and Scaliger have been guilty of this error, and have aſcribed to the firſt what is true only of the laſt.—See *Bayle*, article Artemiſia. Nothing can however be more clear and ſatisfactory, than that the Artemiſia who accompanied Xerxes was the daughter of Lygdamis. The Artemiſia whoſe mauſoleum in honour of her huſband's memory has rendered her ſo illuſtrious, was

though a female, ſerved in this Grecian expedition. On the death of her huſband ſhe had the ſupreme authority, for her ſon was not yet grown up, and her great ſpirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herſelf on this occaſion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, by her father's ſide of Halicarnaſſus, by her mother of Cretan deſcent. She had the conduct of thoſe of Halicarnaſſus, Cos, Niſyros, and Calydne. She furniſhed five ſhips, which, next to thoſe of the Sidonians, were the beſt in the fleet. She was alſo diſtinguiſhed amongſt all the allies for the ſalutary counſels which ſhe gave the king. The people I have recited as ſubject to Artemiſia were I believe all of them Dorians. The Halicarnaſſians were originally of Træzene, the reſt of Epidaurus.—Such were the maritime forces.

was the daughter of Hecatemnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our buſineſs to ſpeak, was certainly a great and illuſtrious character. Her wiſdom is very conſpicuous, from the excellent advice which ſhe gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently diſtinguiſhed, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a ſubſequent paragraph the ſpeech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Juſtin: "Artemiſia queen of Halicarnaſſus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared amongſt the forwardeſt commanders in the hotteſt engagements; and as on the man's ſide there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was obſerved a maſculine courage."

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers, but at length fell a victim to the tender paſſion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herſelf of which ſhe took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory Leucas, and periſhed.—*T.*

C. Xerxes

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks[76], both of horse and

[76] *Through all the ranks.*]—The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his Leonidas, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting.

The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
His trampling horses—High on silver wheels
The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,
Cærulean beryls, and the jasper green,
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
The pearl, th' empurpled amethyst, and all
The various gems which India's mines afford,
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold
A sculptur'd eagle from behind display'd
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
Which on the fam'd Nisæan plain were nurs'd,
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.
——At the signal bound
Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies; behind
Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field—
He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host
Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,
Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
With each cærulean deity, ascends

and foot. When this was done, the fleet alſo was puſhed off from land, whilſt the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian veſſel, on the deck of which he ſat, beneath a golden canopy, paſſed ſlowly the heads of the ſhips, propoſing in like manner queſtions to each, and noting down the anſwers. The commanders had ſeverally moored their veſſels at about four plethra from ſhore, in one uniform line, with their ſterns out to ſea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, paſſing betwixt their prows and the ſhore.

CI. When he had finiſhed his ſurvey, he went on ſhore; and ſending for Demaratus, the ſon of Ariſton, who accompanied him in this expedition againſt Greece, he thus addreſſed him: "From "you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and as I un- "derſtand from yourſelf and others, of no mean or "contemptible city, I am deſirous of obtaining in- "formation: do you think that the Greeks will "preſume to make any reſiſtance againſt me? For "my own part, not to mention their want of una- "nimity, I cannot think that all the Greeks, joined "to all the inhabitants of the weſt, would be able "to withſtand my power: what is your opinion on "this ſubject?" "Sir," ſaid Demaratus, in reply, "ſhall I ſay what is true, or only what is agree- "able?"

Thron'd in his pearly chariot—all the deep
Divides its boſom to th' emerging god,
So Xerxes rode between the Aſian world,
On either ſide receding. *Leonidas.*

"able[77]?" Xerxes commanded him to ſpeak the truth, aſſuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. "Since," anſwered Demaratus, "you com-"mand me to ſpeak the truth, it ſhall be my care "to deliver myſelf in ſuch a manner that no "one hereafter, ſpeaking as I do, ſhall be con-"victed of falſhood. Greece has ever been the "child of poverty; for its virtue it is indebted to "the ſevere wiſdom and diſcipline, by which it has "tempered its poverty, and repelled its oppreſſors. "To this praiſe all the Dorian Greeks are entitled;

77 *Or only what is agreeable.*]—This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the Andria of Terence:

> Obſequium amicos veritas odium parit.

Which expreſſion Cicero, in his Treatiſe de Amicitia, reprobates with proper dignity.

See alſo the following lines, quoted in Athenæus, from Agatho:

> Ει μεν φρασω τάληθες ουχ σ' ευφρανῶ
> Ει δε ευφρανῶ τι σ' ουχι ταληθες φρασω.

That is, in Engliſh, If I ſpeak the truth I ſhall not pleaſe you; if I pleaſe you I ſhall not ſpeak the truth.

If, as appears from Xenophon in particular, and from various other writers, that to ſpeak the truth conſtituted an indiſpenſable part of Perſian education, theſe words of Demaratus muſt have appeared an inſult to Xerxes, not to be juſtified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What Homer thought on this ſubject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of Achilles:

> Who dares think one thing and another tell,
> My ſoul deteſts him as the gates of hell. *T.*

"but I shall now speak of the Lacedæmonians "only. You may depend upon it that your propo- "sitions, which threaten Greece with servitude, will "be rejected, and if all the other Greeks side with "you against them, the Lacedæmonians will en- "gage you in battle. Make no enquiries as to their "number, for if they shall have but a thousand "men, or even fewer, they will fight you[78]."

CIII. "What, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, smiling, "think you that a thousand men will en- "gage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as you "say, have been their prince, would you now wil- "lingly engage with ten opponents? If your coun- "trymen be what you describe them, according "to your own principles you, who are their "prince, should be equal to two of them. If, "therefore, one of them be able to contend with "ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably ex- "pected to contend with twenty: such ought to be

[78] *Will fight you.*]—In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of Leonidas makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:

Now declare
If yonder Grecians will oppose their march.
To him the exile, Deem not, mighty lord,
I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,
To give them glory who degraded mine;
Nor be the king offended while I use
The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly.
Contemptuous smil'd the monarch, and resum'd,
Wilt thou, in Lacedæmon once supreme,
Encounter twenty Persians?

"the

"the test of your assertions. But if your country-
"men really resemble in form and size you, and "such other Greeks as appear in my presence, it "should seem that what you say is dictated by "pride and insolence; for how can it be shewn "that a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty "thousand men, all equally free, and not subject to "the will of an individual, could oppose so great "an army? Granting them to have five thousand "men, we have still a majority of a thousand to "one; they who like us are under the command "of one person, from the fear of their leader, and "under the immediate impression of the lash, are "animated with a spirit contrary to their nature, "and are made to attack a number greater than "their own; but they who are urged by no "constraint will not do this. If these Greeks "were even equal to us in number, I cannot think "they would dare to encounter Persians. The "virtue to which you allude is to be found amongst "ourselves, though the examples are certainly not "numerous: there are amongst my Persian guards "men who will singly contend with three Greeks[79]. "The preposterous language which you use can "only, therefore, proceed from your ignorance."

[79] *With three Greeks.*]—This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who by the favour of the Persians succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits; having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamus challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at cone, and slew them.—*Larcher*.

CIV.

CIV. "I knew, my lord, from the firft," returned Demaratus, "that by fpeaking truth I "fhould offend you. I was induced to give you "this reprefentation of the Spartans, from your "urging me to fpeak without referve. You may "judge, fir, what my attachment muft be to thofe "who, not content with depriving me of my paternal dignities, drove me ignominioufly into "exile. Your father received, protected, and fupported me[80]: no prudent man will treat with "ingratitude the kindnefs of his benefactor. I will "never prefume to engage in fight with ten men, "nor even with two, nor indeed willingly with "one; but if neceffity demanded, or danger provoked me, I would not hefitate to fight with "any one of thofe who they fay is a match for "three Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, when they "engage in fingle combat, are certainly not inferior to other men, but in a body they are not "to be equalled. Although free, they are not fo "without fome referve; the law is their fuperior[81], "of

[80] *Protected and fupported me.*]—That prince gave him the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halifarnia, which Euryfthenes and Procles, defcendants of Demaratus, enjoyed in the 95th Olympiad, who joined themfelves to Thimbron the Lacedæmonian general, when he paffed into Afia Minor to make war on Perfia.—*Larcher.*

[81] *The law is their fuperior.*]—Thomfon, in his Poem to Liberty, gives this juft and animated defcription of Sparta:

Spread on Eurota's bank,
Amid a circle of foft-rifing hills,
The patient Sparta ftood, the fober, hard,
And man-fubduing city, which no fhape

Of

"of which they ſtand in greater awe than your "ſubjects do of you: they are obedient to what it "commands [82], and it commands them always "not to fly from the field of battle, whatever may "be the number of their adverſaries. It is their

Of pain could conquer, nor of pleaſure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the ſolid baſe
Of equal life, ſo well a temper'd ſtate,
Where mix'd each government in each juſt poiſe,
Each power ſo checking and ſupporting each,
That firm for ages and unmov'd it ſtood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One ſhock of faction, or of party rage:
For, drain'd the ſprings of wealth, corruption there
Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded ſunk: but if Athenian arts
Lov'd not the ſoil, yet then the calm abode
Of wiſdom, virtue, philoſophic eaſe,
Of manly ſenſe, and wit in frugal phraſe,
Confin'd and preſs'd into laconic force;
There too, by rooting thence ſtill treach'rous ſelf,
The public and the private grew the ſame;
The children of the nurſing public all,
And at its table fed: for that they toil'd,
For that they liv'd entire, and ev'n for that
The tender mother urg'd her ſon to die.

Liberty, part ii. 108, &c.

Dr. Johnſon ſays truly of this poem, that none of Thomſon's works have been ſo little regarded; I may, nevertheleſs, venture to promiſe whoever has not peruſed it, that it will very well pay his attention.—*T.*

82 *What it commands.*]—"With the Lacedæmonians," ſays Plato, "the law is the king and maſter; and men are not the tyrants of the laws." "The Deity," ſays he, in another place, "is the law of wiſe and moderate men; pleaſure that of men who are fooliſh and intemperate."—*Larcher.*

"duty

" duty to preserve their ranks, to conquer, or to
" die[83]. If what I say seem to you absurd, I am
" willing in future to be silent. I have spoken
" what I think, because the king commanded me,
" to whom may all he desires be accomplish-
" ed."

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without any anger civilly from his presence. After the above conference he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megadostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army, towards Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Hellespont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterwards expelled: he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance

[83] *Conquer or to die.*]—

O conceive not, prince,
That Spartans want an object where to fix
Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.
To them more awful than the name of king
To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

of

of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services, that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks, who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges [84], the governor of Eïon; this man he always mentioned in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians, under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia; this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised; he then slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon; lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is, therefore, very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compelled all the people amongst whom he

[84] *Boges.*]—This proper name is by Pausanias written Boes. The expedition of Cimon is mentioned by Thucydides, Æschines, and others.—This Cimon was the grand-son of the Cimon spoken of in Livy, book vi. chap. 34, 39.

came

came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Thessaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and conclusively by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, towards the west, is called Mesambria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaïce, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera[85]; he passed also the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, betwixt Maronea and Stryma, the Bistonis in the neighbourhood of Di-

[85] *Abdera.*]—See note to chapter 168 of book the first; I there observed that Abdera produced many illustrious characters, yet it is thus stigmatized by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. Speaking of Democritus, he says,

——— cujus prudentia monstrat
Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci.

Which lines are thus translated by Dryden, rather too diffusely:

Learn from so great a wit, a land of bogs
With ditches fenc'd, a heav'n fat with fogs,
May form a spirit fit to sway the state,
And make the neighb'ring monarchs fear their fate.—*T.*

cæa,

cæa, which is filled by the two ſtreams of the Trauus and Compſatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king paſſed near the Neſtus, which empties itſelf into the ocean. He proceeded onwards through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almoſt of thirty ſtadia in circumference, full of fiſh, but remarkably ſalt: the waters of this proved only ſufficient for the beaſts of burthen. The name of the city is Piſtirus. Theſe Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he paſſed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace through which he marched are theſe: the Pæti, Ciconians, Biſtones, Sapæi, Derſæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by ſea; thoſe inland, which I have already ſpecified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany[86] the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were ſubdued; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued to my memory an independent nation. They are remarkable for their valour. They inhabit lofty mountains covered with ſnow, but abounding in all kinds of trees: upon the ſummit of one of their higheſt hills they have an oracle of Bac-

[86] *Compelled to accompany.*]—Thus we find were theſe nations compelled to ſerve under Cyrus, who were betwixt him and Crœſus, not as aſſociates, but as priſoners of war. Many of them were reduced from being horſemen to ſerve on foot, and in a way, ſays Xenophon, which Cyrus accounted as in the higheſt degree ſervile, as ſlingers.—*T.*

 chus.

chus. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi [87]: a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Eïon: Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus is called Phillis, it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon; to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses [88].

CXIV.

[87] *Bessi.*]—Ovid makes mention of these Bessi in no very flattering terms:

Vivere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque.—*T.*

[88] *Sacrifice of white horses.*]—The particular manner in which they performed these sacrifices, Strabo thus describes: When the Persians come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they sink a pit, and kill the victim, taking particular care that the pure

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways, to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon: when they heard that this place was named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths, and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive in honour of that deity whom they suppose to exist under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forwards, they left on the

pure water in the vicinity is not stained with blood, which would contaminate it. They then place the flesh of the victim upon branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks: during this they chaunt hymns, and offer libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, but upon the ground. Their hymns are very long, and whilst they are singing them they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briar.

To which may be added the following particulars.

When the Persians sacrificed they wore garlands, which we learn from the first book of Herodotus, and the third book of the Cyropædia of Xenophon. They sometimes burnt all, and sometimes only part of the victim, feasting on the remainder. In the 16th chapter of Leviticus, the English reader may find a general similitude to the Persian mode of sacrifice, and indeed to that of all the Oriental nations. See also on this subject the second Dissertation of Hutchinson, prefixed to his Cyropædia. —*T.*

 shore,

ſhore, to the weſt, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is called Biſaltia: leaving then to the left the gulph, which is near the temple of Neptune, they croſſed the plain called Sileum, and paſſing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthus. The people of all theſe places, of mount Pangæus, together with thoſe whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coaſt went by ſea; they who lived diſtant from the ſea went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army is to the preſent day held in ſuch extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never diſturb or cultivate it.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthos, the Perſian monarch interchanged the rites of hoſpitality with the people, and preſented each with a Median veſt[89]: he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they diſcovered towards the war, and from their having compleated the work of the canal.

CXVII. Whilſt Xerxes ſtill continued at Acanthos, Artachæes, who had ſuperintended the works of the canals, died; he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and

89 *Median veſt.*]—This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus; it was ſo very graceful, that the Medes adopted it, after they had conquered Aſia; the Perſians followed their example.—*Larcher.*

the

the talleſt of all the Perſians; he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits [90], and was alſo remarkable for his great ſtrength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loſs, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always conſidered the death of Artachæes as a great calamity.

CXVIII. Thoſe Greeks who entertained the Perſian army, and provided a banquet for the king, were reduced to extreme miſery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities, diſtributed along the continent, the Thaſians alſo feaſted Xerxes and his forces: Antipater, the ſon of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was ſelected by his countrymen to preſide on the occaſion; by his account it appeared, that four hundred talents of ſilver were expended for this purpoſe.

CXIX. No leſs expence devolved upon the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magiſtrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with ſuitable induſtry and magnificence. As ſoon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the in-

90 *Five royal cubits.*]—Suppoſing our author to mean here the Babylonian meaſure, this, according to the computation of d'Anville, would be ſeven feet eight inches high.—*Larcher.*

habitants of the ſeveral cities divided the corn which they poſſeſſed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flower. Some there were, who purchaſed at a great price the fineſt cattle they could procure, for the purpoſe of fattening them: others, with the ſame view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preſerved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themſelves in making cups and goblets of gold and ſilver, with the other utenſils of the table; theſe laſt-mentioned articles were intended only for the king himſelf, and his more immediate attendants; with reſpect to the army in general, it was thought ſufficient to furniſh them with proviſion. On the approach of the main body, a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the reſidence of the monarch, the reſt of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feaſt to its concluſion, the fatigue of thoſe who provided it is hardly to be expreſſed. The gueſts, after ſatisfying their appetite, paſſed the night on the place; the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them.

CXX. Upon this occaſion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera has been handed down to poſterity. He adviſed the Abderites of both ſexes to go in proceſſion to their temples, and there, in the attitude of ſupplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities.

calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented by flight the visit of the king, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From Acanthus, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Thermean gulph, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road; by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus in three separate bodies: one went by the sea-coast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Tritantæchmes and Gergis; betwixt these went the third detachment, with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been sunk at mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulph, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced towards the Thermæan gulph, and doubling the

the Toronean promontory of Ampelos, paſſed by the following Grecian towns, from which alſo they took reinforcements of veſſels and of men—Torona, Galepſus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus. All the above diſtrict is now named Sithonia.

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos, they proceeded by a ſhort cut to the Camaſtrean cape, the point, which of all the diſtrict of Pallene, projects fartheſt into the ſea; here they took with them other ſupplies of men and ſhips, from Potidæa, Aphytus, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. Theſe cities are ſituated in the region now called Pallene, known formerly by the name of Phlegra. Coaſting onwards to the ſtation appointed, they ſupplied themſelves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene, and the Thermæan gulph. The names of theſe, ſituate in what is now called the Cnoſſean region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Liſſæ, Gigonus, Campſa, Smila and Ænea. From this laſt place, beyond which I ſhall forbear to ſpecify the names of cities, the fleet went in a ſtraight direction to the Thermean gulph, and the coaſt of Mygdonia: it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as alſo at Sindus and Chaleſtra, on the river Axius, which ſeparates Mygdonia from Bottiæis. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the ſea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces ſtationed themſelves near

near the river Axium, the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthus, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Creſtonia, near the river Chidorus, which, taking its riſe in Creſtonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itſelf into a marſh which is above the river Axium.

CXXV. In the courſe of this march the camels, which carried the proviſions, were attacked by lions: in the darkneſs of the night they left their accuſtomed abode, and without moleſting man or beaſt, fell upon the camels only [91]. That the lions ſhould

[91] *The camels only.*]—"Herodotus," ſays Bellanger, in a note upon this paſſage, "was no great naturaliſt. The Arabians, and all thoſe who inhabit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the fleſh of the camel."—*See Ælian, Hiſtory of Animals,* book xvii. chap. 36.

Herodotus, it muſt be confeſſed, was not remarkably well verſed in natural hiſtory; but if he had, it muſt always have appeared ſurpriſing to him, that lions, who had never before ſeen camels, or taſted their fleſh, ſhould attack them in preference to other beaſts of burthen. That in Arabia lions ſhould prefer a camel to a horſe, may ſeem natural enough; they know by experience the fleſh of theſe two animals, and that of the camel is doubtleſs more to their taſte: but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confeſs that this would have appeared no leſs marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

With reſpect to the lion, many prepoſterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and reſearches in natural hiſtory, have corrected and improved; nevertheleſs the fact here recorded by Herodotus muſt ever appear marvellous. It ſeems in the firſt place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed theſe lions is too cold for producing thoſe animals, and

ſhould attack the camels alone, animals they had never before devoured, or even ſeen, is a fact which I relate with ſurpriſe, and am totally unable to explain.

CXXVI. Theſe places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one ſide the Neſtus, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, paſſing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found[92]. In the intermediate region betwixt theſe two places lions are produced; but no one has ever ſeen them in Europe,

and according to every teſtimony it was then colder than at preſent.

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but inſidiouſly: as the camels therefore were certainly on this occaſion accompanied by a multitude, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could well be expoſed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place it is not likely that the lions ſhould be allured to the camels by their ſmell, for it is now very well aſcertained that the lion has by no means an acute ſenſe of ſmelling. With reſpect to the taſte of the lion, it is ſaid that having once taſted human blood it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different ſpecies of the ſame genus with the lion, both being feles, it is ſaid, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or obſervation, that it prefers the fleſh of an African to that of an European, the European to the American; but the aſſertion may be reaſonably diſputed.—*T.*

92 *Lions are found.*]—Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Aſia than in Africa. The natural hiſtory of the lion may be peruſed in Buffon with much information and entertainment; but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this ſubject.—*T.*

beyond

beyond the Neſtus to the Eaſt, or beyond the Achelous to the weſt.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coaſt from Therma and Mygdonia, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at laſt in the ſame channel. Here the Barbarians encamped: of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Creſtonia, was the only one which did not afford ſufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus and Oſſa, Theſſalian mountains of an extraordinary height, betwixt which was a narrow paſſage where the Peneus poured its ſtream, and where was an entrance to Theſſaly, he was deſirous of ſailing to the mouth of this river. For the way he had determined to march as the ſafeſt was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perræbi, and the town of Gonnus. He inſtantly however ſet about the accompliſhment of his wiſh. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian veſſel, for on ſuch occaſions he always preferred the ſhips of that country; leaving here his land forces, he gave the ſignal for all the fleet to prepare to ſet ſail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he obſerved it with particular admiration, and deſired to know of his guides if it would not be poſſible to

turn

turn the ſtream, and make it empty itſelf into the ſea in ſome other place.

CXXIX. Theſſaly is ſaid to have been formerly a marſh, on all ſides ſurrounded by lofty mountains; to the eaſt by Pelion and Oſſa, whoſe baſes meet each other; to the north by Olympus, to the weſt by Pindus; to the ſouth by Othrys. The ſpace betwixt theſe is Theſſaly, into which depreſſed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly theſe five, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamiſus: all theſe, flowing from the mountains which ſurround Theſſaly into the plain, are till then diſtinguiſhed by ſpecific names. They afterwards unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the ſea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is ſaid, that formerly, before this aperture to the ſea exiſted, all theſe rivers, and alſo the lake Bæbeis, had not as now any ſpecific name, but that their body of water was as large as at preſent, and the whole of Theſſaly a ſea. The Theſſalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows was formed by Neptune. Whoever ſuppoſes that Neptune cauſes earthquakes, and that the conſequent chaſms are the work of that deity, may on viewing this ſpot eaſily aſcribe it to his power: to me, the ſeparation of theſe mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake [93].

CXXX.

93 *An earthquake.*]—The reader may ſee in Philoſtratus, the deſcription

CXXX. Xerxes enquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Thessaly, O king, is on every side encircled by mountains, the Peneus can have no other communication with the sea." "The Thessalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, "are a sagacious people. They have been careful to decline a contest for many reasons, and particularly as they must have discerned that their country would afford an easy conquest to an invader. All that would be necessary to deluge the whole of Thessaly, except the

description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and according to Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is no where better described than in the following lines of Ovid:

> Est nemus Hæmoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
> Silva, vocant Tempe per quæ Peneus ab imo
> Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis
> Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos
> Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
> Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.
>
> *Metamorph.* i. 568.

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—*T.*

"mountainous

"mountainous parts, would be to stop up the "mouth of the river, and thus throw back its "waters upon the country." This observation referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the king. He presumed that their conduct declared the general sentiments of the nation in his favour. After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neighbourhood of Pieria, during which interval a detachment of the third of his army was employed in clearing the Macedonian mountain, to facilitate the passage of the troops into the country of the Peræbi. At the same time the messengers who had been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Amongst those who sent it, were the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Peræbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Platæans. Against all these those Greeks who determined to resist the Barbarians entered into a solemn vow [94] to the following effect—that whatever Greeks submitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoid-

[94] *Solemn vow.*]—The Greek is εταμον ορκιον, literally, *they cut an oath*, because no alliance or agreement was ever made without sacrificing a victim. Similar to this, and to be explained in like manner, was the ferire fœdus of the Romans.

able

able neceffity, fhould on any favourable change of their affairs forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes fent no meffengers either to Athens or to Sparta, for when Darius had before fent to thefe places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punifhment[95], the Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians was afterwards laid wafte; but that they fuffered thus in confequence of their treatment of the ambaffadors, is more than I will affert, indeed I can no means afcribe it to that caufe.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius[96], who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the

[95] *Pit of punifhment.*]—Learned men have difputed whether the το βαραθρον was the place of punifhment at Athens or at Sparta. See the Effais de Critique of Bellanger, page 63, and the note of Larcher on this paffage. It was a deep pit, into which criminals were precipitated. See, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, an entertaining account of the ingenious and fuccefsful contrivance of one Ariftomenes to efcape from this horrid place. *Polyæn.* book ii. c. 2. Similar to this was the punifhment of precipitation from the Tarpeian rock, inflicted on ftate criminals amongft the Romans. Perhaps it is not unreafonable to prefume that a like kind of punifhment prevailed amongft the Jews, who, we are told in the gofpels, hurried our Saviour to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, intending to throw him headlong down.—*T.*

[96] *Vengeance of Talthybius.*]—The indignation of Talthybius

the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius; his posterity are called Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they enquired by their heralds, if any Lacædemonian would die for his country [97].

Upon

bius fell generally upon the republic of Lacedæmon, but at Athens upon a particular house, namely on the family of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he had advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica.—*Pausanias*, book iii. chapter 12.

I can no where find on what account these honours were paid to Talthybius and his posterity. The persons of heralds the laws of all nations consented to hold sacred, but this veneration was paid not to the individual, but to the office. The name of Talthybius occurs very seldom in Homer, and is never introduced with any peculiar marks of honour or distinction. —*T.*

97 *Die for his country.*]—A superstitious idea prevailed amongst the ancients, that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death. Thus, amongst the Greeks, in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error: the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself.

Upon this Sperthies[98], ſon of Aneriſtus, and Bulis ſon of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accompliſhments and diſtinction, offered themſelves to undergo whatever puniſhment Xerxes the ſon of Darius ſhould think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambaſſadors. Theſe men therefore the Spartans ſent to the Medes, as to certain death.

himſelf. That better devotion, the reſult not of ſuperſtition but of genuine patriotiſm, is thus well deſcribed by Thomſon:

But ah, too little known to modern times,
Be not the nobleſt paſſion paſt unſung,
That ray peculiar, from unbounded love
Effus'd, which kindles the heroic ſoul—
Devotion to the public. Glorious flame,
Celeſtial ardour, in what unknown worlds,
Profuſely ſcatter'd thro' the blue immenſe,
Haſt thou been bleſſing myriads, ſince in Rome,
Old virtuous Rome, ſo many deathleſs names
From thee their luſtre drew? Since, taught by thee,
Their poverty put ſplendour to the bluſh,
Pain grew luxurious, and death delight? *T.*

98 *Sperthies.*]—The name of this Spartan is very variouſly written: he is called Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches, but it is of no great importance. Suidas, by an unpardonable negligence, changes theſe two Spartans into two Athenians. They ſung, in honour of theſe two exalted characters, a melancholy dirge called Sperchis, though I doubt not that Bulis was alſo celebrated in it, as was Ariſtogiton in that of Harmodius.—See *Theocritus, Idyl.* xv. 96, 98.—*Larcher.*

The above miſtake in Suidas, which Larcher has pointed out, Toup, in his Emendations of that author, has omitted to notice.—*T.*

CXXXV. The magnanimity of theſe two men, as well as the words which they uſed, deſerve admiration. On their way to Suſa they came to Hydarnes, a native of Perſia, and governor of the vanquiſhed places in Aſia near the ſea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindneſs, and addreſſed them as follows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians, will you reject the friendſhip of the king? "From me, and from my condition, you may learn "how well he knows to reward merit. He already "thinks highly of your virtue, and if you will "but enter into his ſervice, he will doubtleſs aſſign "to each of you ſome government in Greece." "Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with "reſpect to us is inconſiſtent: you ſpeak from the "experience of your own, but with an entire igno- "rance of our ſituation. To you ſervitude is fa- "miliar; but how ſweet a thing liberty is, you "have never known, if you had, you yourſelf "would have adviſed us to make all poſſible exer- "tions to preſerve it[99]."

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Suſa, to the royal preſence, they were firſt ordered

99 *To preſerve it.*]—The Greek is ουκ αν δορασι συμβουλευοις ἡμῖν περι αυτης μαχεσθαι αλλα και πελεκεσι, which literally means; You would adviſe us to fight for it not only with ſpears, but with hatchets: which in a manner explains itſelf; for to fight with a ſpear implies fighting at a greater diſtance, and conſequently with leſs danger, than was poſſible with an ax, the wounds of which muſt be more ſevere, and leſs eaſily avoided.—*T.*

by

by the guards to fall proſtrate, and adore the king[100], and ſome force was uſed to compel them. But this they refuſed to do, even if they ſhould daſh their heads againſt the ground. They were not, they ſaid, accuſtomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpoſe that they came. After perſevering in ſuch conduct, they addreſſed Xerxes himſelf in theſe and ſimilar expreſſions: "King of "the Medes, we are ſent by our countrymen to "make atonement for thoſe ambaſſadors who pe-"riſhed at Sparta." Xerxes with great magnanimity ſaid he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They in killing his ambaſſadors had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by deſtroying their meſſengers, indirectly juſtify their crime.

CXXXVII. In conſequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius ſubſided for the preſent, notwithſtanding the return of Sperthies and Bulis to their country. But according

100 *Adore the king.*]—This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Perſia, when admitted to their preſence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of Themiſtocles and one or two more, uniformly refuſed to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having done this, was by his countrymen condemned to die: thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanneſs.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of proſtration before him muſt have been paid the king of Perſia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had acceſs to him. —*T.*

 to

to the Lacedæmonian account, this diſpleaſure was after a long interval again conſpicuous in the war betwixt the people of the Peloponneſe and the Athenians. For my own part, I ſee no divine interpoſition [101] in this buſineſs: that the anger of Talthybius ſhould without ceaſing continue to operate till the devoted individuals were ſent from their country, ſeems juſt and reaſonable; but that it ſhould ultimately fall on the children of theſe men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus the ſon of Bulis, and Aneriſtus the ſon of Sperthies, had taken a fiſhing veſſel belonging to the Tirinthians [102] full of men: being afterwards ſent

[101] *Divine interpoſition.*]—To impute that to divine interpoſition which human ſagacity is unable to account for or explain, ſeems the neceſſary reſult of ignorance combined with ſuperſtition. That in a caſe ſo remarkable as this before us, Herodotus ſhould diſdain to do this, does the higheſt credit to his candour and his wiſdom. The paſſage however has greatly perplexed the moſt learned commentators, ſome thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valcnaer's note on the paſſage, which to me ſeems very ſatisfactory, and which I have of courſe adopted.—*T.*

[102] *To the Tirinthians.*]—Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair, book ii. chapter 67. From his account no divine interpoſition ſeems neceſſary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneriſtus: they were two of ſeveral who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war, the Lacedæmonians had put to death ſuch as they captured by ſea, and the Athenians thought themſelves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides ſays, that Ariſteas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced; but he ſays no ſuch thing either of Nicolaus or Aneriſtus.—*T.*

on ſome public buſineſs into Aſia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, ſon of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus ſon of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Biſanthis on the Helleſpont, and being carried to Attica were put to death by the Athenians, as was alſo Ariſteus ſon of Adimantus, a Corinthian.—Theſe events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes [103].

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper ſubject, was nominally ſaid to be directed againſt Athens; but its real object was the entire conqueſt of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invaſion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their ſubmiſſion to the Perſian did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from the Barbarian's preſence, whilſt they who had reſiſted his propoſals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them diſcovered more inclination to go over to the Medes, than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myſelf impelled in this place to deliver an opinion, which, though it may appear invidious to moſt men, as it ſeems to me the fact, I ſhall not ſuppreſs. If the Athenians, through terror

[103] *After the expedition of Xerxes.*]—The events here alluded to happened in the third year of the eighty-ſeventh Olympiad, as appears from Thucydides.

of the impending danger, had forſaken their country, or if they had ſtayed merely to have ſurrendered themſelves to Xerxes, he would certainly have met with no reſiſtance by ſea; if he had remained without conteſt maſter of the ſea, the following muſt have been the event of things on the continent:—Although they of the Peloponneſe had fortified the iſthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians muſt inevitably have been deſerted by their allies, not ſo much from inclination as from their being compelled to ſee their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the Barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered an honourable death. Either this muſt have been their lot, or, ſeeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themſelves would have done the ſame: thus would Greece either way have been reduced under the Perſian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the iſthmus could poſſibly have been, whilſt the king remained maſter of the ſea, I am unable to diſcover. Whoever therefore ſhall conſider the Athenians as the deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The ſcale to which they inclined would neceſſarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preſerving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined to reſiſt the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priestess, whose name was Aristonice:

" Unhappy men, to earth's last limits go;
" Forsake your homes, and city's lofty brow,
" For neither head nor bodies firm remain,
" Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain:
" All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,
" Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found;
" Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear;
" Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.
" And now from hallow'd shrines the flames ascend,
" Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.
" Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,
" Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare!"

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: whilst they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulis, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: "O "king, return us an answer more auspicious to our "country; let our supplicatory dress and attitude "incline you to compassion; otherwise we will not "leave your sanctuary, but here remain till we "die."

"die." The ſecond anſwer [104] of the prieſteſs was to this effect.

"Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,
"Not Pallas' ſelf the ſolemn will can move.
"My awful words attend then once again,
"And firm they ſhall as adamant remain.
"When all is loſt within Cecropian bounds,
"And where Cithæron's ſacred boſom ſounds,
"Jove to his lov'd Tritonian maid ſhall give
"A wall of wood, where you and yours ſhall live.
"Your numerous foes approach forbear to ſtay,
"But fly from horſe, and foot, and arms away.
"Thou ſhalt, immortal Salamis, deſtroy
"The riſing ſource of many a mother's joy:
"Thou ſhalt—tho' Ceres ſcatter o'er the plain,
"Or keep within diſpos'd, her golden grain."

CXLII. The meſſengers, as reaſonably they might, deeming this reply leſs ſevere than the former, wrote it down, and returning to Athens recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely oppoſite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle: ſome of the oldeſt men thought it intended to declare, that the citadel, which formerly was ſurrounded by a palliſade, ſhould

[104] *The ſecond anſwer.*]—This has generally been imputed to the interpoſition of Themiſtocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, deſpairing to influence his fellow citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

not be taken, to which pallisade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall. Others thought, that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle:

"Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
"The rising source of many a mother's joy:
"Thou shalt—tho' Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
"Or keep within dispos'd, her golden grain;"

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed, that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right. "If," said he [105], "that prediction had

[105] *If, said he.*]—The last-mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his Athenaid, book i. 334.

"Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard;
Minerva's tow'rs must perish: Jove severe
So wills, yet granting, at his daughter's suit,
Her people refuge under walls of wood;
But shun the myriads of terrific horse,
Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring."—
She ceas'd, th' Athenian notes her answer down;
To one the most entrusted of his train
He gives the tablet: "Back to Athens fly,"
He said, "the son of Neocles alone,
By his unbounded faculties, can pierce
The hidden sense of these mysterious strains."

"referred to the Athenians, the deity would not "have uſed terms ſo gentle. The expreſſion would "ſurely have been, 'O wretched Salamis,' and not "'O immortal Salamis,' if the inhabitants had "been doomed to periſh in the vicinity of that iſland." Every more ſagacious perſon, he thought, muſt allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians, but the enemy; he recommended them, therefore, to prepare for an engagement by ſea, the only proper interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion of Themiſtocles appeared to the Athenians more judicious than that of the interpreters, who were averſe to a naval engagement; and who adviſed their countrymen to attempt no reſiſtance, but to abandon Attica, and ſeek another reſidence.

CXLIV. Themiſtocles had on a former occaſion given proofs of his ſuperior ſagacity: a conſiderable ſum of money had been collected in the public treaſury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A propoſal had been made, and approved, that this ſhould be equally divided amongſt the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a head; Themiſtocles diſſuaded[106] the Athenians from this meaſure, and prevailed on them to furniſh out with it a fleet of two hundred veſſels, for the war with Ægina. It was this war, therefore, which

[106] *Themiſtocles diſſuaded.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Themiſtocles, relates the ſame fact. It was doubtleſs a bold though ſagacious meaſure, and one of thoſe which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occaſions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the ſaviour of his country.—*T.*

operated to the ſafety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become ſailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpoſe for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely ſerved for the general benefit of Greece. The above ſhips being already prepared, the Athenians had only to encreaſe their number: it was therefore determined, in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better teſtify their obedience to the divinity, than by meeting at ſea the Barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with thoſe Greeks who choſe to join their arms.—Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council all the other Greeks aſſiſted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with reſpect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themſelves to be faithful to the common intereſt, it was firſt of all determined, that their private reſentments and hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. At this period great diſturbances exiſted, but more particularly betwixt the people of Athens and Ægina. As ſoon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians reſolved to ſend ſome emiſſaries into Aſia, to watch the motions of the king. It was alſo determined, to ſend ſome perſons to Argos, to form with that nation a confederacy againſt the Perſian war: others were ſent to Sicily, to Gelon, the ſon of Dinomenis; ſome to Corcyra and Crete, to ſollicit aſſiſtance for Greece. It was their view, if poſſible, to collect Greece into one united

united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed upon, and their private animosities had ceased, their first step was to send three spies [107] to Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized, in the act of examining the royal army, and being tortured by the command of the generals of the land forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed himself displeased with the proceedings of his officers, and sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes, after enquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army [108],

[107] *Three spies.*]—The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy, but the enterprize of Diomed and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—*T.*

[108] *Round his army.*]—A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

and ſhew them all his forces, both horſe and foot; when they had fully ſatisfied their curioſity, he ſuffered them to depart without moleſtation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct, by the idea that if the ſpies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power exceeding even the voice of fame; he imagined alſo, that the loſs of three individuals could prove of no ſerious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded, that by the return of theſe men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made againſt them, would not wait his arrival to make their ſubmiſſions; and that conſequently he ſhould be ſpared the trouble of marching againſt them.

CXLVII. Upon another occaſion Xerxes appeared to reaſon in the ſame manner: when he was at Abydos he ſaw ſome veſſels ſailing over the Helleſpont, which carried corn from the Pontus to Ægina and the Peloponneſe. When his attendants diſcovered them to be enemies they prepared to purſue them, and looked earneſtly on the king, as expecting his orders to do ſo. Xerxes enquired where theſe veſſels were going; on being told to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, "Well," he replied, "and are not we going to the "ſame place, carrying with us corn amongſt other "neceſſaries? How, therefore, can theſe injure us, "who are carrying proviſions for our uſe." The ſpies, after ſurveying all that they deſired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return, thoſe Greeks who had aſſociated to reſiſt the Perſian ſent meſſengers a ſecond time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct:—They were acquainted, they ſay, at a very early period, with the Barbarian's views upon Greece; and being aware, and indeed aſſured, that they would be called upon by the Greeks for their aſſiſtance to oppoſe him, they ſent to enquire of the oracle at Delphi what line of conduct they might moſt advantageouſly purſue. They had recently loſt ſix thouſand of their countrymen, who were ſlain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the ſon of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply:

"You, whom your neighbours hate, whilſt gods
"above,
"Immortal gods, with trueſt kindneſs love,
"Keep cloſe within, and well your head defend,
"Which to the limbs ſhall ſure protection lend."

This was the anſwer given them by the Pythian, before the arrival of the Grecian envoys. When theſe had delivered their commiſſion to the ſenate of Argos, the Argives expreſſed themſelves diſpoſed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians, for a term of thirty years, upon condition of having

[109] *The command of half.*]—Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Argives ſent deputies to the general aſſembly, who, on aſking for a ſhare of the command, received an anſwer to this effect: That if they thought it harder to ſubmit to the command of a Grecian, than to have a Barbarian maſter, they might as well ſtay, as they were, in quiet: if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they muſt deſerve it by their noble actions.

the command of half[109] of the troops; they thought that in juſtice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be ſatisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the anſwer of the Argive ſenate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle, not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerneſs a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they preſumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refuſed to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes ſhould be aggravated by any new calamity in the Perſian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To theſe propoſals of the Argive ſenate the Spartan envoys replied, that with reſpect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorized to make this deciſive anſwer: That as they had two kings, and the Argives but one[110], the Spartans could not deprive either of their two[111] ſovereigns of his privileges; but there was no reaſon why the Argive prince ſhould not be veſted with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themſelves unable to ſubmit

[110] *The Argives but one.*]—Larcher remarks on this paſſage, that it is the only one he has been able to diſcover, which mentions there being a king of Argos.

[111] *Either of their two.*]—In book v. chap. 75, we are told expreſsly that the Spartans paſſed a law, forbidding both their kings to be at the ſame time preſent with the army, with which aſſertion the paſſage before us evidently militates.

to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the Barbarians, than to the tyranny of Sparta [112]. They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not quit their territories before sun-set, they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account; another report, however, is prevalent in Greece:—Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: "Men of Argos, attend to the "words of Xerxes: we are of opinion that Perses, "whom we acknowledge to be our ancestor, was the "son of Perses, whose mother was Danae, and of "Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus; thus it "appears that we derive our origin from you [113]. It "would

[112] *Tyranny of Sparta.*]—The Lacedæmonians, says Valcnaer, and Cleomenes in particular, had on various occasions treated the Argives ill, these, therefore, with the Achæans, were the only people of the Peloponnese who refused to assist them in the Peloponnesian war.

[113] *Our origin from you.*]—If the fables of Greece may be credited, the royal families of Perseus and Argos came from the same source. From Danae, the daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, came Perses, king of Argos; Perses had by Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, before called Cepheri.—*Larcher.*

It is truly said by Plato (in Alcibiad. vol. ii. p. 120.) that the Heraclidæ in Greece, and the Achæmenidæ among the Persians, were of the same stock. On this account Herodotus makes Xerxes claim kindred with the Argives of Greece, as being equally of the posterity of Perses, the same as Perseus, the sun, under which character the Persians described the patriarch

"would, therefore, be unnatural either for us to carry "on war with those from whom we are descended, or "for you to make us your adversaries, by giving "your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, in "tranquillity at home; if what I meditate prove "successful, no nation shall receive from me greater "honours than yours." This proposition appeared to the Argives of such serious importance, that they of themselves made no application to the Greeks; and when they were called upon for their assistance, they claimed an equal command, merely with the view of remaining quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it [114].

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterwards. The Athenians, upon some occasion or other, sent ambassadors to Susa,

arch from whom they were descended. Perseus was the same as Mithras, whose sacred cavern was styled Perseüm.

> Phæbe parens—seu te roseum Titana vocari
> Gentis Achæmeniæ ritu, seu præstat Osirin
> Frugiferum: seu Perseï sub rupibus antri
> Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.
>
> *Statius Theb.* i. 717.

The above is from Bryant, vol. ii. 67, 68.—See also, of the same work, vol. i. 466, and vol. iii. 388.

[114] *Would refuse it.*]—Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, which I have so frequently had occasion to mention, says, that this passage is a remarkable instance of our author's malice. "Every body knows," says Plutarch, "that the Argives were not unwilling to enter into the Grecian confederacy, although they did not choose to submit to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians."—*T.*

the city of Memnon[115], amongſt whom was Callias, the ſon of Hipponicus: at the ſame place, and time, were preſent ſome Argives, to enquire of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, whether the friendſhip they had formed with his father Xerxes continued ſtill in force, or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater ſhare of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither ſpeak from my own knowledge nor give any opinion, having no other authority but that of the Argives themſelves for ſaying that Xerxes ſent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambaſſadors at Suſâ interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendſhip for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place[116] their faults, in order to exchange them for thoſe of their neighbours,

[115] *City of Memnon.*]—Built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and called both by Herodotus and Strabo the Memnonian city.

[116] *Produce in one place.*]—This paſſage is obſcure. The meaning of Herodotus ſeems to be, that if we take the repreſentation of the Argives, their guilt was not conſiderable, according to the favourable eye with which all men view their own faults. "I know," ſays he, "that all men would rather keep their own faults, than take thoſe of others."

A ſimilar ſentiment to this is well expreſſed by lord Cheſterfield, in a paper of the World.

"If, ſometimes, our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the ſcales quite even, if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoiſe of vanity, which never fails to ſet all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any man would without reſerve, and in every particular, change with any other."

Solon,

bours, the result would be, that after due examination each would willingly return with what he brought.—The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent upon me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them; and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is then also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persian to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a

Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, book vii. c. 2. asserted the same thing concerning human miseries. "Solon aiebat si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." This topic is treated with great humour in the Spectator, N° 557 and 558. Should there be any doubt about the meaning of κακα, in this passage, it may be observed that Plutarch substitutes εγκληματα.

Plutarch, after reprobating the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the Argives, adds this comment:

"What he therefore reports the Æthiopian to have exclaimed concerning the ointment and the purple, 'Deceitful are the beauties, deceitful the garments of the Persians,' may be applied to himself; for deceitful are the phrases, deceitful the figures, which Herodotus employs, being perplexed, fallacious, and unsound. For as painters set off and render more conspicuous the luminous parts of their pictures by the aid of shades, so he by his denials extends his calumnies, and by his ambiguous speeches makes his suspicions take the deeper impression."—*T.*

citizen of Gela[117], of the iſland of Telo, oppoſite Triopium; when the Lindians of Rhodes[118], and Antiphemus, built Gela, he accompanied them. His

[117] *Gela.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Gela amply diſcuſſed by the learned d'Orville, in his Sicula, page 111 to page 131. It ſeems probable that it was built 713 years before Chriſt. According to Diodorus Siculus, Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum, deſtroyed Gela about the 124th Olympiad, and 572 years after its firſt foundation: the inhabitants he removed to the town of Phintias, which he built. A medal has been found in Sicily, on one ſide of which was a minotaur, the well known type of the people of Gela; on the reverſe a wild boar, which is always found on the medals of Phintias. See Larcher's Table Geographique, vol. vii. p. 157.—*T.*

[118] *Rhodes.*]—The Rhodians ſucceeded the Cretans in the dominion of the ſea; they ſtyled themſelves ſons of the ſea.—So Simias, their own hiſtorian, ſays of them, as cited by Clemens Alexand. and explained by Bochart, υιοι θαλασσης.—See Diodorus Sic. l. v. Florus calls them Nauticus populus. See Meurſius, where we find that Rhodes was ſtyled Mari enata, becauſe it emerged by the decreaſe of the ſea. They applied themſelves with great ſucceſs to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ſhips; they took ſo much care to keep the art to themſelves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even look at their docks.—See in Euſtathius in Dion. the expreſſion τα λινδα πλοια. The high eſteem and credit which Rhodes obtained, is apparent from the ſuccours which the neighbouring ſtates ſent her, when almoſt deſtroyed by an earthquake. See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wiſdom of her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely the juſt value they ſet on their poor, and their importance to the ſtate, and of the care they took of them. They eſtabliſhed many rules for their maintenance, and made ample proviſion for them all, wiſely concluding, that the better they were uſed, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the ſummons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of theſe they long maintained the ſovereignty

His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities [119], which honour Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained: Some men of Gela who, in a public tumult, had been worsted, took refuge at Mactorium, a city beyond Gela. These Telines brought back to their allegiance, without any other aid than the things sacred to the above deities, but where or in what manner he obtained them I am unable to explain. It was by their aid that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the abovementioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprize, seems to me particularly surprising; it was certainly be-

sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Ægypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called Eptastadium. Soon after this the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business; that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and by the institution of the knights of Jerusalem, in 1308, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of 200 years.—*T.*

[119] *Infernal deities.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

yond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, neverthelefs, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a perfon of different character; that is to fay, of a delicate and effeminate nature.—So, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the fon of Pantareus, after poffeffing for feven years the fovereignty of Gela, was affaffinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and fucceeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign Gelon [120], one of the pofterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænefidemus, fon of Pataïcus, of the body-guard of Hippocrates, was foon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently diftinguifhed himfelf in the feveral different wars which Hippocrates had profecuted againft the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention thofe of Syracufe, and many barbarous nations. Of all thefe cities, which I have enumerated, that of Syracufe alone efcaped the yoke of Hippocrates. The Syracufans, indeed,

[120] *Gelon.*]—He was not, as Dionyfius Halicarnaffus afferts, the brother of Hippocrates. From belonging to the body guard of Hippocrates, he elevated himfelf to the government of Gela, and from thence to that of Syracufe: this laft he rendered a flourifhing town, and fo attached it to him by his liberality, that when they broke in pieces the ftatues of the tyrants, to coin them into money, when Timoleon reftored its liberty to Syracufe, thofe of Gelon alone were exempted.—*Larcher.*

had ſuſtained a ſignal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had ſupported and delivered them, on the expreſs condition that they ſhould give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they poſſeſſed from the remoteſt antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the ſame period as his brother Cleander, loſt his life before the town of Hybla [121], in a war againſt the Sicilians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, ſons of Hippocrates, whoſe acceſſion to their father's dignity was reſiſted, obtained the ſupreme authority of Gela, to the excluſion of the lawful heirs. He afterwards obtained poſſeſſion of Syracuſe, taking the opportunity of reſtoring to their country, from Caſmene, thoſe of the Syracuſans called Gamori [122], who had been

121 *Hybla.*]—There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla. The firſt of theſe is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Ætna; the ſecond is the modern Raguſa; the third is Megara.—It was before the ſecond Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was alſo the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees; it has been ſufficiently notorious in poetic deſcription.

I am conſcious that, with reſpect to geographical deſcriptions, I have on all occaſions been conciſe, and ſome of my readers may, perhaps, think to a fault. In anſwer to this I can only obſerve, that the geography of Herodotus might be reaſonably expected to employ a ſeparate volume.—*T.*

122 *Gamori.*]—The Gamori or Geomori, were properly thoſe who, ſent out in a colony, divided the lands amongſt them.

 expelled

expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cillyrians[123]. The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submissions, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse he made light of Gela, his former possession, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed from Camarine all its inhabitants, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara; on their surrender the most wealthy amongst them, who, on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The common people of Megara, who not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive, in both these instances, was his fear and dislike of the common people: thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived

[123] *Cillyrians.*]—This name is written differently. Larcher calls them Cillicyrians.

at

at Syracuſe, and obtained an audience of the king, they addreſſed him to this effect: "The Lacedæ-
"monians, Athenians, and their common allies, have
"deputed us to ſolicit your aſſiſtance againſt the
"Barbarian. You muſt have heard of his intend-
"ed invaſion of our country, that he has thrown
"bridges over the Helleſpont, and, bringing with
"him all the powers of Aſia, is about to burſt upon
"Greece. He pretends, that his hoſtilities are di-
"rected againſt Athens alone; but his real object
"is the entire ſubjection of Greece. We call on
"you, therefore, whoſe power is ſo great, and whoſe
"Sicilian dominions conſtitute ſo material a por-
"tion of Greece, to aſſiſt us in the vindication of
"our common liberty. Greece united will form a
"power formidable enough to reſiſt our invaders;
"but if ſome of our countrymen betray us, and
"others withold their aſſiſtance, the defenders of
"Greece will be reduced to an inſignificant num-
"ber, and our univerſal ruin may be expected to
"enſue. Do not imagine that the Perſian, after
"vanquiſhing us, will not come to you: it becomes
"you, therefore, to take every neceſſary precaution;
"by aſſiſting us you render your own ſituation ſe-
"cure.—An enterprize concerted with wiſdom ſel-
"dom fails of ſucceſs."

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehement: "Your addreſs to me, O men of Greece," ſaid he, "is inſolent in the extreme. How can you
"preſume to ſolicit my aid againſt the Barbarian, who,
"when I formerly aſked you for aſſiſtance againſt
"the

"the Carthaginians, and to revenge on the people "of Ægesta the death of Dorieus, the son of "Anaxandrides, offering in return to make those "commercial places free, from whence great ad-"vantages would have been derived to you, on "both occasions refused to succour me? That all "this region, therefore, is not in subjection to the "Barbarians has not depended upon you; the "event, however, has been fortunate to me. But "on the approach of war, and your own immedi-"ate danger, you have recourse to Gelon. I shall "not imitate your contemptuous conduct; I am "ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, "twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thou-"sand horse, and as many archers, two thousand "slingers, and an equal number of light-armed ca-"valry. It shall be my care also to provide corn [124] "for all the forces of Greece, during the continuance

[124] *Provide corn.*]—The fertility of Sicily, with respect to its corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. See Cicero in Verrem, ii.—"Ille M. Cato sapiens cellam penariam reipublicæ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit." Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphanes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated.

"A cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers (αυλητριδες) from Ægium, *cheese from Sicily*, the perfumes of Athens, and eels of Bœotia."

So that cheese also was amongst the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—*T.*

"of the war. But I make theſe offers on the con-
"dition of being appointed to the ſupreme com-
"mand, otherwiſe I will neither come myſelf, nor
"furniſh ſupplies."

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himſelf, exclaimed aloud: "How would Agamemnon, the
"deſcendant of Pelops, lament, if he could know
"that the Spartans ſuffered themſelves to be com-
"manded by Gelon, and the people of Syracuſe!
"Upon this ſubject I will hear you no farther: if
"you have any intention of aſſiſting Greece, you
"muſt ſubmit to be ſubordinate to the Lacedæmo-
"nians; if you refuſe this, we decline your aid."

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular averſion of Syagrus to his propoſals, he delivered himſelf a ſecond time as follows: "Stranger of
"Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted
"character, they ſeldom fail of exciting his reſent-
"ment: yet your conduct, inſulting as it is, ſhall
"not induce me to tranſgreſs againſt decency. If
"you are tenacious of the ſupreme authority, I may
"be reaſonably more ſo, who am maſter of more
"forces, and a greater number of ſhips: but as you
"find a difficulty in acceding to my terms, I will
"remit ſomewhat of my claims. If you com-
"mand the land forces, I will have the conduct of
"the fleet; or, if you will direct the latter, I will
"command the former. You muſt be ſatisfied
"with the one of theſe conditions, or be content

"to

"to depart without my powerful assistance [125]."
—Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: "King of "Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not wanting "a leader, but a supply of forces. Such is your "ambition, that unless you are suffered to com-"mand, you will not assist us. When you first "intimated your wish to have the supreme com-"mand of our united forces, we Athenians listened "in silence, well knowing that our Lacedæmonian "ally would return you an answer applicable to us "both. As soon as you gave up this claim, and "were satisfied with requiring the command of the "fleet alone, I then thought it became me to "answer you. Know then, that if the Spartan am-"bassador would grant you this, we would not: "if the Lacedæmonians refuse the conduct of the "fleet, it devolves of course to us; we would not "dispute it with them, but we would yield it to "nobody else. It would little avail us to possess "the greater part of the maritime forces of Greece, "if we could suffer the Syracusans to command "them. The Athenians are the most ancient peo-"ple

[125] *My powerful assistance.*]—Ælian, in his Various History, book ix. chap. 5. relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:

When Hiero appeared at the Olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race, Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger ought not have a share in the common festival.

The

"ple of Greece[126], and we alone have never "changed our country: from us was descended "that

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles. See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395. —*T.*

[126] *The most ancient people of Greece.*]—The Athenians, in support of their antiquity, assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, χθονιοι, αυτοχθονες, γηγενεις, πηλογονοι, children of clay. See Hesychius at the word γηγενεις. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Ægyptians, concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterwards, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicadæ*, or harvest flies, commonly translated grashoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, they were ανθρωποι ωσπερ παρνοπες, with this only difference, that whereas the cicada only sung upon the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes; that in short they were σπερμολογοι (See Athenæus, p. 540.) sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious farmer, to find out a place, απραγμονα, where they had nothing to do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon, and to keep up this pretence they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair: they therefore called themselves προσεληνοι; and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help thinking that the Arcadians were called Silen, before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia were called Salonum, and the cheese there made caseus Salonites, words not unlike to Silenus and Selenitæ. The name also is preserved in Silenus, the

"that hero, who, according to Homer, of all those "who marched against Troy, was the most expert "in the arrangement and discipline of an army: "we relate these things with a becoming sense of "our own importance."

CLXII. "Man of Athens," answered Gelon, "it does not appear that you want commanders, "but troops. Since, therefore, you would obtain "every thing, and concede nothing, hasten your "departure, and inform Greece that their year will "be without its spring." The meaning of his expression was, that as the spring was the most desirable season of the year, so were his forces with respect to those of Greece; Greece, therefore, destitute of his alliance, would be as a year without its spring.

CLXIII. The Grecian ambassadors, after receiving this answer from Gelon, sailed back again. Gelon afterwards, apprehending that the Greeks must fall before the Barbarian power, and still disdaining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to the Spartans in the Peloponnese, adopted the following measure:—As soon as he heard that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the

the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. Silenus, as the Greek language prevailed, might afterwards be changed into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better understood, or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to account for calling themselves *Proseleni*.—*T.*

son

ſon of Scythes, of the iſle of Cos; he had with him a large ſum of money, and a commiſſion of a pacific tendency[127]. They were to obſerve the iſſue of the conteſt: if the Barbarian proved victorious, they were to give him earth and water, in token of the ſubmiſſion of thoſe places of which Gelon was prince; if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father the ſovereignty of Cos; and though his ſituation was free from every ſpecies of diſquietude, he reſigned his authority from the mere love of juſtice, and retired to Sicily. Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterwards changed to Meſſana[128]. This man Gelon ſelected, being convinced from his previous conduct of his inviolable attachment to juſtice. Amongſt the other inſtances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the leaſt worthy of admiration: If he had thought proper he might have converted to his own uſe the wealth with which Gelon entruſted him; but after the victory of the Greeks, and the conſequent departure

[127] *Pacific tendency.*]—Φιλιυς λογυς, literally "friendly words."

[128] *Meſſana.*]—It is by no means certain when this happened: the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides are contradicted by that of Pauſanias. The reader who may wiſh minutely to inveſtigate this fact; I refer to Larcher's long note to Bentley on Phalaris, page 104, who avails himſelf of it to detect the forgery of the epiſtles aſcribed to Phalaris; and laſtly to d'Orville's Sicula.—*T.*

of

of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm, that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phœnicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage[129], to the amount of three hundred thousand men. This person Terillus had conciliated, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, king of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar, to induce him to come to Sicily[130], and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe: Gelon, from these circumstances being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

[129] *King of Carthage.*]—Larcher remarks, from Polyænus and Cornelius Nepos, that the title of king was frequently given to the Carthaginian generals.

[130] *Come to Sicily.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in consequence of this that the war here mentioned took place in Sicily.

CLXVI. It is related on the ſame authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar, in Sicily, on the ſame day [131], which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, they aſſert, was a Carthaginian, his mother a native of Syracuſe; he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his perſonal virtues. After being vanquiſhed, as we have deſcribed, he diſappeared, and was never ſeen afterwards, dead or alive, though Gelon [132] with the moſt diligent care endeavoured to diſcover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians, and with ſome probability, aſſert, that during the conteſt of the Greeks and Barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night,

[131] *On the ſame day.*]—Diodorus Siculus ſays the ſame thing, of courſe theſe two authors are agreed about the year of the battle of Thermopylæ, and differ only in a few months. Herodotus makes it to have happened in the beginning of the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad; Diodorus Siculus ſome months afterwards.

The victory of Gelon did him great honour; but what in my opinion did him more, was, that when he granted peace to the Carthaginians, he ſtipulated that they ſhould never again ſacrifice children to Saturn. Nevertheleſs, Diodorus Siculus, who mentions this treaty, ſays nothing of this condition; and it appears from this author, that the barbarous cuſtom above-mentioned ſtill prevailed in the time of Agathocles, that is to ſay, in the 117th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

[132] *Though Gelon.*]—If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar; ſee lib. i. c. 27. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he deſtroyed him by a paltry ſtratagem, when in the act of offering ſacrifice.

Amilcar remained in his camp; here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming upon one large pile the entire bodies of numerous victims [133]. As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, whilst he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and for ever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phœnicians, he vanished in this, or, as the Carthaginians alledge, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrifice to him as a divinity.—Enough perhaps has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyreans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily, went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance: they added, that they could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction, that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost.—Such was the flattering answer they returned. But when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels;

[133] *Numerous victims.*]—We find Crœsus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims; see book i. chap. 50.

these

these were put to sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnese, they stationed themselves near Pylos and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta. Here they waited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect: "The "Greeks, O king, have sollicited our assistance, "who, after the Athenians, are second to none in "the number as well as strength of our ships; but "we did not wish to oppose your designs, or to do "any thing hostile to your wishes." By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable: they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes; but that the north-east winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea: and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

CLXIX. The Cretans being in like manner sollicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure: "Inconsi-"derate as you are," replied the priestess, "has not

" Minos given you ſufficient cauſe to regret the " part you took with reſpect to Menelaus? The " Greeks refuſed to revenge the murder of Mi- " nos [134], at Camicus, though you aſſiſted them to " puniſh

[134] *Minos.*]—The Cretans had ſent ſome forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a deſcendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceaſed. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamanes; ſee the Dionyſiaca of Nonnus, cited by Meurſius, p. 120. Thoſe who ſettled with Minos at Crete, are the firſt whom the Grecian hiſtory records for their power and dominion at ſea; he extended his juriſdiction to the coaſts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; uſing his power with moderation and juſtice, and employing it againſt thoſe lawleſs rovers and pirates who infeſted the neighbouring iſlands, and in the protection and ſupport of the injured and diſtreſſed. If he be repreſented in worſe colours by ſome authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from thoſe, whoſe rapine and oppreſſion had provoked and felt his reſentment. Minos was no leſs renowned for his arms abroad, than for his polity and good government at home; he is ſaid to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his ſubjects of Crete, and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as ſuch reports were, to give the better ſanction to his laws, yet it is confeſſed, ſays Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was ſo well governed, that the beſt ſtates of Greece, eſpecially the Spartan, did not diſdain to tranſcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and tranſcribed its laws.—*Meurſius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one inſtance of this agreement of the military ſort, in giving the onſet to battle, l. i. c. 11. there are many others in Meurſius. Beſides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witneſs to what I have above ſaid of the ancient Cretans character. As it was gained by, ſo it fell with, the deſcendants

"punish the rape of a Spartan woman by a Barbarian." This answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus [135], perished

scendants of Minos; for when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end) Crete became a den of tyrants, and a nest of pirates, as infamous for their thefts and injustice, as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—*T.*

[135] *Dædalus.*]—Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Erectheus; he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures, that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him: for this he was condemned to death by the Areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus; Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet, he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

rished by a violent death[136]. Not long afterwards, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsians, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camicus, inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire; a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove them ashore: As their vessels were destroyed, and they were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans

It has been disputed, whether with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Ægyptian; Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander, l. viii. 160.

Non secus ac liquidus Phrygiis Mæandros in arvis
Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas;
Et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare versus apertum
Incertas exercet aquas. Ita Dædalus implet
Innumeras errore vias, &c. *T.*

136 *Violent death.*]—Zenobius affirms, that whilst he was at the bath, the daughter of Cocalus killed him, by pouring boiling pitch upon him. Diodorus Siculus says, that Cocalus having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died; he satisfies himself with saying, that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus on account of his ingenuity, to oblige him, resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince caused Sophocles to write a tragedy, called Minos, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

they

they took the name of Messapian Iapyges[137], and from being islanders they became inhabitants of the continent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies; with these, the Tarentines being afterwards engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Mycithus, son of Chœrus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained a loss of three thousand men; the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Micythus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had been left to take care of Rhegium; being driven thence, he resided afterwards at Tegea in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues[138] in Olympia.

137 *Iapyges.*]—So called from Iapyx, the name of the son of Dædalus. Iapyx was also the name of the Western wind. See Horace:

> Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga
> Ventis.

Again,

> Ego quid sit ater
> Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
> Peccet Iapyx.

The particulars of the battle, mentioned in the subsequent part of the chapter, may be found at length in Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. 52.

138 *Great number of statues.*]—These are specified in Pausanias; they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive: there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer, and Hesiod; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Micythus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—*T.*

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum, have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus left without inhabitants, the Præsians say, that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and as some have asserted as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle; they who survived, were joined by others who migrated to them, and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance, the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

CLXXII. The Thessalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to shew their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival the Thessalian deputies thus spake: "Men of Greece, it will be necessary to defend "the Olympic straits, for the common security of "Thessaly, and of all Greece. We on our parts "are ready to assist in this, but you must also send "a considerable body of forces, which if you omit "to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms

"with

"with the Persian. It cannot be just that we, who "from our situation are more immediately exposed "to danger, should perish alone on your account. "If you refuse to assist us, you cannot expect us to "exert ourselves for you. Our inability to resist "will justify our conduct, and we shall endeavour "to provide for our own security."

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready they passed the Euripus. Arriving at Alus, in Achaia*, they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, betwixt Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænetus, son of Carenus, one of the Polemarchs [139], though not of the blood-royal. Themistocles, son of Neocles, commanded the Athenians.

* *In Achaia.*]—Achaia means here Phthiotis, in Thessaly.—See *Strabo*, b. ix.

139 *One of the Polemarchs.*]—The Polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere observed, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid de camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the Polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—*T.*

Athenians. Here they remained but a few days; for Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, the Macedonian, ſent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any ſtand againſt the land and ſea forces of the enemy, whoſe numbers he explained. The Greeks thinking the advice reaſonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another paſſage into Theſſaly, through the country of the Perrhæbi, in the higher region of Macedonia, near the city Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually paſs. The Greeks retired to their ſhips, and returned to the iſthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Theſſaly was undertaken when the king was preparing to paſs into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Theſſalians, forſaken by their allies, loſt no time in treating with the Medes; they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themſelves remarkably uſeful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the iſthmus, in conſequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they ſhould commence hoſtilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than thoſe of Theſſaly, but alſo within a leſs diſtance. Of that other avenue by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were ſurprized, they

they had not the ſmalleſt knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were ſhewn it by the Trachinians. To prevent the approach of the Barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this paſſage: their fleet they reſolved to ſend to Artemiſium on the coaſt of Hiſtiæotis. Theſe places are ſo contiguous, that a communication betwixt the two armaments was extremely eaſy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus deſcribed:—Artemiſium *, beginning from the Thracian ſea, gradually contracts itſelf into a narrow ſtrait betwixt the iſland of Sciathus and the continent of Magneſia. At the ſtraits of Eubœa Artemiſium meets the coaſt, upon which is a temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narroweſt part half a plethrum; compared with the reſt of the country, the part moſt contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ [140]; behind, near

* *Artemiſium.*]—According to this deſcription, Artemiſium is the name of the whole ſea, from Sepias to the Cenæan promontory.

[140] *Thermopylæ.*]—An excellent plan of the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, as they at preſent appear, may be ſeen in the charts of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis. The deſcription which Livy gives of them has been greatly admired.—See liber xxxvi. c. 15.

"Extremos ad orientem montes Œtam vocant; quorum quod altiſſimum eſt, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Maliacum ſinum vergente iter eſt non latius quam LX paſſus. Hæc una militaris via eſt, qua traduci exercitus, ſi non prohibeantur poſſint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipſis faucibus ſunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmoniorum adverſus Perſas morte magis memorabili quam pugnâ."

The

near the Alpeni, there is room only for a single carriage; before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ, is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Œta; to the east, it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits, there are warm baths which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phoceans, through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phoceans erected the wall to protect them; and, to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the above-mentioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the Barbarian from Greece. In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. This place the Greeks from every consideration deemed the most eligible. After much

The gates of public buildings were called by the Greeks θυραι, the gates of cities πυλαι.—See Suidas at the word πυλαι. See also Perrenius's note to Ælian, book iii. c. 25.

"The narrow entrance of Greece," says Mr. Gibbon, describing the march of Alaric into Greece, "was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher."—*T.*

cautious

cautious inſpection and deliberation, they concluded that the Barbarians could not here avail themſelves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here therefore they determined to receive the diſturber of their country. As ſoon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria, they left the iſthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemiſium.

CLXXVIII. Whilſt the Greeks, according to the reſolutions of their council, reſorted to their ſeveral ſtations, the Delphians, anxious for themſelves and for Greece, conſulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to addreſs themſelves to the winds, for they would prove the beſt allies of Greece. The Delphians loſt no time in communicating this anſwer to thoſe Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and who greatly dreading the Barbarian, thought it deſerved their everlaſting gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and ſacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where is a temple in honour of Thyia, daughter of Cephiſſus[141], from whom the

[141] *Thyia, daughter of Cephiſſus.*]—Larcher quotes from Pauſanias the following paſſage:

"Others ſay that Caſtalius, a native of the country, had a daughter named Thyia; ſhe was prieſteſs of Bacchus, and was the firſt who celebrated orgies in honour of that god. From this time, all thoſe were called Thyiades, who became frantic in honour of this god. They ſay alſo that Delphus was the ſon of that Thyia by Apollo; others again ſay that the mother of Delphus was Melæna, the daughter of Cephiſſus."

Strabo and Plutarch diſcerned a great affinity and likeneſs between

the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes moving from Therma, dispatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guardships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These, on sight of the Barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The Barbarians, after a pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of the crew they sacrificed on the prow of the ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the man they slew was Leon, and to his name perhaps he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble; it was commanded by Asonides, and amongst its warriors was Pythes[142], son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken, he persevered in his resistance, till he was cut in pieces: at length he fell, but, as he discovered some signs of life, the

between the frantic rites of Cybele, the orgia of Bacchus, and the mysteries of Pan.—*T.*

[142] *Pythes.*]—Bellanger in a long note endeavours to prove that it should be Pytheas, and not Pythes. To all his arguments I am satisfied to oppose the learned authority of Longinus, who writes the nominative case Pythes.—*Larcher.*

Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton [143]. On their return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a man deserving universal esteem; whilst they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

CLXXXII.

[143] *Bandages of cotton.*]—I have proved in another place, that Byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Ægypt, in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily, in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon; which induces him to believe, with father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Ægypt is become barbarous (devenue barbare.) This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Persians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton; we in similar cases use lint: but the Ægyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher.*

I do not know whether what I have to offer, in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject, may be thought satisfactory, but I think that they merit the attention of the English reader. I have before observed, that the finest linen of Ægypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed; and I find in Ezekiel, xxvii. 7. the following verse:

ΒΥΣΣΟΣ μετα ποικιλιας ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ εγενετο τοι ϛρωμνη, τȣ περιθειναι σοι δοξαν, ϗ περιβαλειν σε ὑακινθον και πορφυραν εκ των νησων Ελεισαι, και εγενετο περιβολαια σȣ. Which our translators have thus rendered:

Fine linen with broidered work from Ægypt, was that which

CLXXXII. Two of the veſſels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to eſcape, went aſhore at the mouth of the Peneus. The Barbarians took the ſhip but not its crew. The Athenians got on ſhore, and proceeding through Theſſaly, arrived ſafe at Athens. The Greeks ſtationed at Artemiſium were made acquainted with the above event by ſignals of fire from Sciathus. They inſtantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not however omit to place daily centinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of the ten Barbarian veſſels ſailed to the rock called Myrmex, betwixt Sciathus and Magneſia. Here they erected a column, with ſtones which they brought with them for that purpoſe. They ſpent eleven days on this cruize, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted ſafe with reſpect to this rock by Pammos the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one days paſſed along the coaſt of Magneſia to Sepias, on the ſhore which lies betwixt the town of Caſthanæa and the coaſt of Sepias.

which thou ſpreadeſt forth to be thy ſail; blue and purple from the iſles of Eliſha was that which covered thee.

That Βυσσος is properly expreſſed by the word linen, I believe; but why it ſhould be rendered fine linen, I am at a loſs to imagine. We are expreſsly told that it was uſed for ſail-cloth, and was probably of a ſubſtance equally coarſe with that mentioned by Virgil:

Uſum in caſtrorum aut miſeris velamina nautis. *T.*

CLXXXIV.

CLXXXIV. Thus far, and to Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of the veſſels which left Aſia amounted, if my conjectures have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and ſeven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally [144] manned was two hundred forty-one thouſand four hundred, compoſed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each veſſel: to theſe, independent of their own proper crews, are to be added thirty of either Perſians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of theſe laſt was thirty-ſix thouſand two hundred and ten: to the above are alſo to be added thoſe who were on board the veſſels of fifty oars, to which we may allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number therefore of theſe will be found to have been three thouſand, and of the men two hundred and forty thouſand. Thus the fleet which left Aſia was compoſed of five hundred ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. The infantry conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thouſand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thouſand more. The above was the armament which left Aſia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the tranſports which carried the proviſions, and their crews.

[144] *Originally.*]—That is, I ſuppoſe, without the troops which the king added to his armament in progreſs from Aſia to Europe.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe; of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men: a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans[145], Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was I believe three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was I believe still greater. I will however suppose them equal. Thus it will appear that Xerxes son

[145] *Bottiæans.*]—The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Cretans, in compliance with some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia; from hence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.—*Larcher.*

of Darius conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes: as to the women who prepared the bread, the concubines and eunuchs, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number. The baggage waggons also, the beasts of burden, and the Indian dogs, which accompanied the army, defied all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted; but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chænix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed [146] ten thousand three hun-

146 *Every day be consumed.*]—Maitland, who I believe is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present:

Beeves - - - -	98,244
Calves - - - -	194,760
Hogs - - - -	186,932
Pigs - - - -	52,000
Sheep and Lambs - -	711,123

The most inquisitive calculators seem now agreed in allowing, upon an average, to the metropolis a million of inhabitants. —*T.*

 dred

dred and forty medimni[147]. Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, eunuchs, cattle, and dogs. Amongst all these myriads of men, with respect to grace and dignity of person[148], no one better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves, the foremost drawing close to land, the others laying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, at-

[147] *Medimni.*]—There were forty-eight chenices in one medimnus; according therefore to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is of course a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

[148] *Grace and dignity of person.*—

Through all the nations which ador'd his pride
Or fear'd his power the monarch now was pass'd;
Nor yet among these millions could be found
One who in beauteous feature might compare,
Or towering size, with Xerxes. Oh possess'd
Of all but virtue, doom'd to shew how mean,
How weak, without her is unbounded power,
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;
How insecure of happiness, how vain! *Glover.*

tended with a violent ſquall of wind from the Eaſt[149], which the inhabitants of theſe parts call an Helleſpontian wind. They who foreſaw that the tempeſt

149 *From the eaſt.*]—Apeliotes, called alſo Solanus and Subſolanus. The ancients originally uſed only the four cardinal winds; they afterwards added four more. The Romans increaſed them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal, twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be uſeful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compaſs.

Engliſh.	*Latin and Greek.*
1 North - - -	1 Septentrio or Boreas.
2 North by Eaſt - -	2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gallicus.
3 North, North Eaſt -	3 Aquilo.
4 North Eaſt by North -	4 Meſoboreas, Meſaquilo, Supernas.
5 North East - -	5 Arctapeliotes, Borapeliotes, Græcus.
6 North Eaſt by Eaſt -	6 Hypocæſias.
7 Eaſt North Eaſt - -	7 Cæſias, Helleſpontius.
8 Eaſt by North - -	8 Meſocæſias.
9 East - - -	9 Solanus, Subsolanus, Apeliotes.
10 Eaſt by South - -	10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.
11 Eaſt South Eaſt - -	11 Eurus or Volturnus.
12 South Eaſt by Eaſt -	12 Meſeurus.
13 South East - -	13 Notapeliotes, Euraster.
14 South Eaſt by South -	14 Hypophœnix.
15 South, South Eaſt -	15 Phœnix, Phœnicias, Leuconotus, Gangeticus.
16 South by Eaſt - -	16 Meſophœnix.
17 South - -	17 Auster, Notus, Meridies.

 18 South

tempeſt would ſtill increaſe, and whoſe ſituation was favourable, prevented the effects of the ſtorm, by drawing their veſſels aſhore, and with them preſerved their own perſons: of thoſe whom the hurricane ſurprized farther out at ſea, ſome were driven to the ſtraits of Pelion, termed the Ipnoi, others went on ſhore; ſome were daſhed againſt the promontory of Sepias, others carried to Melibœa and Caſthanæa, ſo ſevere was the tempeſt.

CLXXXIX. It is aſſerted, that the Athenians being adviſed by ſome oracle to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of their ſon-in-law, invoked in a ſolemn manner

18 South by Weſt -	18 Hypolibonotus, Alſanus.
19 South, South Weſt -	19 Libonotus, Notolybicus, Auſtro-Africus.
20 South Weſt by South -	20 Meſolibonotus.
21 SOUTH WEST - -	21 NOTOZEPHYRUS, NOTOLIBYCUS, AFRICUS.
22 South Weſt by Weſt -	22 Hypolibs, Hypafricus, Subveſperus.
23 Weſt South Weſt - -	23 Libs.
24 Weſt by South - -	24 Meſolibs, Meſozephyrus.
25 WEST - - -	25 ZEPHYRUS, FAVONIUS, OCCIDENS.
26 Weſt by North - -	26 Hypargeſtes, Hypocorus.
27 Weſt North Weſt -	27 Argeſtes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.
28 North Weſt by Weſt -	28 Meſargeſtes, Meſocorus.
29 NORTH WEST - -	29 ZEPHYRO-BOREAS, Borolibycus, Olympias.
30 North Weſt by North -	30 Hypocircius, Hypothraſcias, Scirem.
31 North, North Weſt -	31 Circius, Thraſcias.
32 North by Weſt - -	32 Meſocircius.

the

the aid of Boreas [150]. Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya, an Athenian female, daughter of Erectheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and during their station off the Euboean Chalcis to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the Barbarian fleet, as they had before done near mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications Boreas dispersed the Barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm, that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion.—They afterwards erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles son of Cratinus, a Magnesian, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterwards very considerable advantage from this tempest; many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides upon his lands; he became master also of

[150] *Boreas.*]—Astraeus had by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went to Thrace in Attica, from whence he carried Orithya, daughter of Erectheus: By this marriage he became son-in-law to Erectheus, and the Athenians consequently considered him as their ally, calling him their son-in-law also.—*Larcher.*

various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate; he had by some calamity been deprived of his children[151].

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would avail themselves of this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a buttress made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth the magi appeased its violence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless perhaps the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Se-

[151] *Of his children.*]—This passage has occasioned great perplexity; but Palmerius in his Exercitationes has removed every difficulty, and satisfactorily done away the effects of Plutarch's perverse misconception. Plutarch abuses Herodotus for introducing this circumstance of the affluence of Aminocles, and the means by which he obtained it, merely for an opportunity of saying that he had killed his son.

Plutarch of course refers the word παιδοκτονος to Aminocles; but, as Palmerius observes, by referring the word παιδοκτονος, not to the man, but to his συμφορη (calamity) every difficulty is removed, and no imputation of malignity can be attached to our historian.—*T.*

pias[152] was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain, that on the fourth day the tempest[153] ceased.

CXCII. Their centinels, who were every day stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the storm on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Neptune surnamed Servator, which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulph leading to Pagasæ.

152 *Sepias.*]—This coast was sacred to Thetis, because that goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a kind of sea-fish, which the Greeks call Σηπια (Sepia.) This story gave the name of Sepias to this coast and promontory.—*Larcher.*

153 *The tempest.*]—Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argo was built. Near it is Aphetæ, from which place they say the Argonauts sailed. The south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes' fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.—*Pococke.*

It was in this gulph of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo[154] to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident, the place afterwards took the name of Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here also it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these, being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium, and mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Tharmasias, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross; he had been one of the royal judges, and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross, when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him; his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible; they saw him sailing towards them, and perceiving his error attacked and took him and his vessels.

[154] *Argo.*]—See book iv. c. 179. Note *Bryant*, ii. 490, 491.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolis, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias; he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands, at Artemisium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners bound to the isthmus of Corinth.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sardoces, the whole of the Barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. Whilst he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks[155] was evidently

[155] *The inferiority of the Greeks.*]—The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the Anabasis, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the king of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says, that Cappadocia sent 1500 horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these sur-

dently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly which did not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. Whilst Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius[156]. It was

prising feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the Cataplacts, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of 55,000 horse; and many other instances may be adduced to shew that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.

Claudian, in Laud. Serenæ, tells us it was customary to have a breed from a Phrygian mare by a Cappadocian horse:

> Delectus equorum
> Quos Phrygiæ matres Argæaque gramina pastæ
> Semine Cappadocum sacris præsepibus edunt. *T.*

156 *Jupiter Laphystius.*]—It was to this deity that Phrixus sacrificed the ram upon which he was saved; and even to this day, says the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the prytaneum according to the established law, and offers sacrifices to this god. At twenty stadia from Ceroneus was mount Laphystius, where was a mound consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius: there is still seen in this place a marble statue of this god. Phrixus and Helle being on the point

was ſaid that Athamas, the ſon of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phrixus. The Achaians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldeſt of the deſcendants of Athamas ever to enter their prytaneum, called by them Leitus. They were very vigilant in ſeeing this reſtriction obſerved, and whoever was detected within the proſcribed limits could only leave them to be ſacrificed. There were ſeveral who in terror eſcaped into another country, when they were on the point of being ſacrificed. If they ever afterwards returned, they were, if diſcovered, inſtantly ſent to the prytaneum. To the above, the guides of Xerxes added the deſcription of the ſacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribbands, with all other circumſtances. The poſterity of Cytiſſorus, the ſon of Phrixus, are ſubject to the above, becauſe Cytiſſorus himſelf, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achæans, who by the direction of the oracle were about to offer him as an expiatory ſacrifice. On this account, the anger of the divinity fell upon the poſterity of Cytiſſorus. In conſequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiouſly avoided it himſelf, and commanded all his army[157] to

point of being ſacrificed in this place by Athamas, they ſay that Jupiter ſent them a ram whoſe fleece was gold, upon which they ſaved themſelves.

Jupiter ſurnamed Laphyſtius was, according to Kuhnius, the protector of fugitives.—*Larcher.*

[157] *All his army.*]—See on this ſubject Bryant, vol. ii. 40, 41, &c.

to do the ſame. He ſhewed the ſame veneration for the reſidence of the poſterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Theſſaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the ſea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be ſeen every day. Near this bay is an extenſive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another: round this plain are certain lofty and inacceſſible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and encloſing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the firſt city near this bay is Anticyra. This is waſhed by the river Sperchius, which, riſing in the country of the Enieni, here empties itſelf into the ſea. At the diſtance of twenty furlongs is another river, called Dyras, which is ſaid to have riſen ſpontaneouſly from the earth, to ſuccour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the diſtance of twenty furlongs more.

41, &c.—This writer ſuppoſes, and his opinion is confirmed by Suidas, that the prutaneion is derived from πυρ, fire: the words of Suidas are theſe: πρυτανειον, πυρος ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. The Scholiaſt upon Thucydides talks to the ſame purpoſe: αλλοι δε φασιν οτι το πρυτανειον πυρος ην ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. Others tell us that the prutaneion was of old called *puros tameion*, from *pur*, becauſe it was the repoſitory of a perpetual fire. Theſe places were temples, and at the ſame time courts of juſtice; hence we find that in the prutaneion of Athens the laws of Solon were engraved. Theſe laws were deſcribed upon wooden cylinders, ſome of which remained to the time of Plutarch, &c.—*Bryant.*

CXCIX.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this laſt river ſtands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the wideſt, extending from the mountains to the ſea, and comprehending a ſpace of twenty-two thouſand plethra. In the mountainous tract which incloſes Trachinia there is an opening to the weſt of Trachis, through which the Aſopus winds round the baſe of the mountain.

CC. To the weſt of this another ſmall ſtream is found, named the Phœnix; it riſes in theſe mountains, and empties itſelf into the Aſopus. The moſt contracted part of the country is that which lies neareſt the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to paſs. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs: betwixt the Phœnix and Thermopylæ is a village named Anthela, paſſing which the Aſopus meets the ſea. The country contiguous to Anthela is ſpacious; here may be ſeen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the ſeats of the Amphictyons [158], and a ſhrine of Amphictyon himſelf.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia at Melis; the Greeks in the Straits. Theſe ſtraits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here then were the two armies

[158] *Amphictyons.*]—See book v. c. 62, note. What I have there omitted concerning the Amphictyons, their office, and character, may be found amply diſcuſſed in Gillies's Hiſtory of Greece, and faithfully repreſented in Rees's Chambers's Dictionary, as well as by Larcher.—*T.*

ſtationed,

ftationed, Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the fouth.

CCII. The Grecian army[159], which here waited the approach of the Perfian, was compofed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Ar-

[159] *The Grecian army.*]—Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occafion, according to the different reprefentations of Herodotus, Paufanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

	Herodotus.	Paufanias.	Diodorus.	
Spartans	300	300	—	300
Tegeatæ	500	500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans	500	500	The other nations of the Peloponnefe	3,000
Orchomenians	120	120		
Arcadians	1,000	1,000		
Corinthians	400	400		
Phlyontians	200	200		
Mycenians	80	80		
Total	3,100	3,100		4,000

The above came from the Peloponnefe; thofe who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors abovementioned—

Thefpians	700	700	Milefians	1,000
Thebans	400	400	—	400
Phoceans	1,000	1,000	—	1,000
Opuntian Locrians	—	6,000	—	1,000
	5,200	11,200		7,400

cadia,

cadia, a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia, four hundred Corinthians, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnese: from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them, saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils; he therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer [160] for his temerity.

160 *Would suffer.*]—The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, might be well expressed by the words which in Ezekiel represents Gog's army and its destruction.—See chapter xxxviii. xxxix.

" Thou shall ascend and come like a storm; thou shall be like a cloud to cover the land; thou and all thy bands, and many people with thee:

" Persia, Æthiopia, and Lybia with them, all of them with shield and helmet.

merity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries; but the man most regarded, and who was entrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta; for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government: but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he took with him to Thermopylæ a body of three hundred chosen men, all of

" But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws. I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee: and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand; and will cause thy arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

" Thou shalt fall upon the mountains, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured."—*T.*

of whom had children[161]. To these he added those Theban troops[162] whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These therefore he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of the Carnian festival[163] protracted the march of their main

161 *All of whom had children.*]—

Three hundred more compleat th' intrepid band,
Illustrious fathers all of generous sons,
The future guardians of Laconia's state. *Leonidas.*

162 *Theban troops.*]—Plutarch upbraids Herodotus for thus slandering the Thebans; and Diodorus says, that Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylæ.—*T.*

163 *Carnian festival.*]—This was continued for seven days at Sparta in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are assigned for its institution; the most plausible is that found in the Scholiast to Theocritus, which tells us that they were celebrated by the people of the Peloponnese, to commemorate the cessation of some pestilence.—*T.*

body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a ſmall detachment for the defence of Sparta. The reſt of the allies were actuated by ſimilar motives, for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they ſent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already aſſembled at Thermopylæ were ſeized with ſo much terror on the approach of the Perſian, that they conſulted about a retreat. Thoſe of the Peloponneſe were in general of opinion that they ſhould return and guard the iſthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averſe to this meaſure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their poſt. He reſolved however to ſend meſſengers round to all the ſtates, requiring ſupplies, ſtating that their number was much too ſmall to oppoſe the Medes with any effect.

CCVIII. Whilſt they thus deliberated, Xerxes ſent a horſeman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Theſſaly, that a ſmall band was collected at this paſſage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The perſon employed performed his duty: all thoſe who were without the entrenchment he was able to reconnoitre; thoſe who were within for the purpoſe of defending it eluded his

his obſervation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period ſtationed without[164]; of theſe ſome were performing gymnaſtic exerciſes, whilſt others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly aſtoniſhed, but he leiſurely ſurveyed their number and employments, and returned without moleſtation, for they deſpiſed him too much to purſue him.—He related to Xerxes all that he had ſeen.

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the caſe, that this people were preparing themſelves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him ſo ridiculous, that he ſent for Demaratus the ſon of Ariſton, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king queſtioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expreſſing his deſire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, Sir," ſaid Demaratus, "ſpoken to you of this people at the "commencement of this expedition; and as I re-"member, when I related to you what I knew

164 *Stationed without, &c.*]—

By chance
The Spartans then compos'd th' external guard;
They, in a martial exerciſe employ'd,
Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,
But poiſe the ſpear protended as in fight,
Or lift their adverſe ſhields in ſingle ſtrife,
Or trooping forward ruſh, retreat, and wheel
In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:
While others calm beneath their poliſh'd helms
Draw down their hair, whoſe length of ſable curls
O'erſpread their necks with terror. *Leonidas.*

" you would have occaſion to obſerve, you treated " me with contempt. I am conſcious of the dan- " ger of declaring the truth, in oppoſition to your " prejudices; but I will nevertheleſs do this. It " is the determination of theſe men to diſpute this " paſs with us, and they are preparing them- " ſelves accordingly. It is their cuſtom before any " enterprize of danger to adorn their hair [165]. Of " this you may be aſſured, that if you vanquiſh " theſe, and their countrymen in Sparta, no other " nation will preſume to take up arms againſt you: " you are now advancing to attack a people whoſe " realms and city are the faireſt, and whoſe troops " are the braveſt of Greece." Theſe words ſeem- ed to Xerxes prepoſterous enough; but he demand- ed a ſecond time, how ſo ſmall a number could contend with his army. " Sir," ſaid he, " I will

[165] *Adorn their hair.*]—Long hair diſtinguiſhed the free man from the ſlave, and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accuſtomed to ſay, that long hair added grace to handſome men, and made thoſe who were ugly more terrific. The following are ſome of the moſt animated lines in Leonidas:

> To whom the Spartan: O imperial lord,
> Such is their cuſtom, to adorn their heads
> When full determin'd to encounter death.
> Bring down thy nations in reſplendent ſteel;
> Arm, if thou canſt, the general race of man,
> All who poſſeſs the regions unexplor'd
> Beyond the Ganges, all whoſe wand'ring ſteps
> Above the Caſpian range, the Scythian wild,
> With thoſe who drink the ſecret fount of Nile:
> Yet to Laconian boſoms ſhall diſmay
> Remain a ſtranger.

T.

" ſubmit

"submit to suffer the punishment of falsehood, if "what I say does not happen."

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous, he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely as he supposed from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes in consequence attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A reinforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men [166]. —The above engagement continued all day.

CCXI. The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king "the immortal," and commanded by Hydarnes. These it was supposed would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes: their superior numbers

[166] *Many troops, but few men.*]—According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: "If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient."—*T.*

were of no advantage, on account of the narrowneſs of the place; and their ſpears alſo were ſhorter than thoſe of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deſerves to be recorded; their own excellent diſcipline, and the unſkilfulneſs of their adverſaries, was in many inſtances remarkable, and not the leaſt ſo when in cloſe ranks they affected to retreat. The Barbarians ſeeing them retire purſued them with a great and clamorous ſhout; but on their near approach the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loſs of the Perſians was prodigious, and a few alſo of the Spartans fell. The Perſians, after ſucceſſive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the paſs, were unable to accompliſh it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is ſaid of Xerxes himſelf, that being a ſpectator of the conteſt, he was ſo greatly alarmed for the ſafety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day the Barbarians ſucceeded no better than before. They went to the onſet as againſt a contemptible number, whoſe wounds they ſuppoſed would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular diviſions, fought each nation on its reſpective poſt, except the Phoceans, who were ſtationed on the ſummit of the mountain to defend the paſs. The Perſians, experiencing a repetition of the ſame treatment, a ſecond time retired.

CCXIII. Whilſt the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to purſue in the preſent emergence, Ephialtes the ſon of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive ſome great recompence for ſhewing him the path which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ; and he indeed it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of thoſe Greeks who periſhed on this ſtation. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterwards into Theſſaly; but the Pylagoræ[167], calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this expreſs purpoſe, ſet a price upon his head, and he was afterwards ſlain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for ſome other reaſon, which I ſhall afterwards[168] explain; he nevertheleſs received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians;—this however was the end of Ephialtes.

[167] *Pylagoræ.*]—Many are involved in a miſtake, by confounding the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons. They were not ſynonymous, for though all the Pylagoræ were Amphictyons, all the Amphictyons were not Pylagoræ.—See *Potter's Archæologia Græca,* lib. i. c. 16.

[168] *I ſhall afterwards.*]—But Herodotus no where does this; whether therefore he forgot it, or whether it appeared in ſome of his writings which are loſt, cannot be aſcertained.—See P. Weſſelingi Diſſertatio Herodotæia, p. 14.

"Verum nihil hujus nec libro viii. neque nono. Plures ne ergo ix. libris abſolvit in quis de Athenada? An excidit ex ſuperſtitibus ejus memoria? non dixero. Oblitus ne eſt ac Athenada addere? Fieri poteſt. Operi longo fas eſt obrepere ſomnum."

CCXIV.

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report, for it is said that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This with me obtains no credit, for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price upon the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but upon that of Ephialtes the Trachinian[169], after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight: Onetes, being a Melian, might perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who shewed it to the Persians, and to him without scruple I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first approach of evening; the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never however proved of any advantage to the Melians.

169 *Trachinian.*]—In the preceding chapter Herodotus calls him a Melian; but this amounts to the same thing, as Trachinia made part of Melis.

CCXVI.

CCXVI. The path of which we are ſpeaking commences at the river Aſopus. This ſtream flows through an aperture of the mountain called Anopæa, which is alſo the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the firſt city of the Locrians, on the ſide next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygus [170], by the reſidence of the Cercopes [171]. It is narroweſt at this point.

[170] *Melampygus.*]—See Suidas at the article Μελαμπυγου τυχοις. The Melampygi were two brothers, and remarkable for their extreme inſolence; their mother cautioned them againſt meeting a man who had "black buttocks." Hercules meeting them, bound them together, and ſuſpended them from a poſt, with their heads downwards. Afterwards ſeeing them laugh, he enquired the reaſon, they told him that their mother bade them beware of meeting a man with "black buttocks." Hercules on hearing this laughed too, and let them go. Thoſe who had "white buttocks" (λευκοπυγους) were ridiculed by the comic poets as effeminate.—See *Ariſtophanes Lyſiſtrate.*

Larcher tells a ſtory ſomewhat different, from the Adagia of Zenobius.—*T.*

[171] *Cercopes.*]—Theſe people were robbers. Homer is ſaid to have written a poem on them, mentioned by Suidas at the word Ὁμηρος, and by Proclus in his life of Homer. Probably the expreſſion extended to all ſorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtleſs many in ſuch a place as Œta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis ſay to Alexander, "I am not a little ſurprized that all you great men who are deſcended from Jupiter take a ſtrange delight in flatterers and buffoons: Hercules had his Cercopians, Bacchus his Silenians about him; ſo I ſee your majeſty is pleaſed to have a regard for ſuch characters."—*Larcher.*

CCXVII. Following this track which I have deſcribed, the Perſians paſſed the Aſopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themſelves at the ſummit, where, as I have before deſcribed, a band of a thouſand Phoceans in arms were ſtationed, both to defend their own country and this paſs. The paſſage beneath was defended by thoſe whom I have mentioned: of this above the Phoceans had voluntarily promiſed Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Perſians was diſcovered to the Phoceans in this manner: whilſt they were aſcending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but from the ſtillneſs of the air they were diſcovered by the noiſe they made by trampling on the leaves, a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the Barbarians appeared, who, ſeeing a number of men precipitately arming themſelves, were at firſt ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. They did not expect an adverſary; and they had fallen in amongſt armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, enquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Perſians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to ſuſtain the heavy flight of arrows, retreated

up the mountain [172], imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters [173] had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was in the course of the night circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their centinels, who early in the morning fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their station, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not

[172] *Up the mountain.*]—Mr. Glover has been very minute and faithful in his representation of the places where this noble scene was exhibited:

The Phocian chief,
Whate'er the cause, relinquishing his post,
Was to a *neighbouring eminence* remov'd,
Though by the foe neglected or *contemn'd*. *T.*

[173] *Deserters.*]—Diodorus Siculus mentions but one: "There was in the army," says , one Tyrastiades of Cyrne; as he was a man of honour and probity, he fled from the camp by night, and going to Leonidas and his party, discovered to them the designs of Ephialtes."—*Larcher.*

agreeing,

agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said, that those who retired only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not without the greatest ignominy forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, whilst he was convinced that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances the Spartans having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

"To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
"Behold, a dire alternative befalls;—
"Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
"Or slain by Persian arms, a king must die,
"A king descended from Herculean blood.
"For lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
"Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
"'Tis Jove's own force, and this or that must yield."

I am unwilling to presume of the allies that departed, that differing in opinion from their leader they dishonourably

diſhonourably deſerted. I ſhould alſo ſuppoſe tha the conduct of Leonidas was the reſult of his revolving the oracle[174] in his mind, and of his great deſire to ſecure to the Spartans alone the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no ſmall teſtimony of the truth of the above, that amongſt thoſe whom Leonidas diſmiſſed was Megiſtias himſelf. He was of Acarnania, and, as ſome affirm, deſcended from Melampus; he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen: he refuſed however to leave his friends, and ſatisfied himſelf with ſending away his only ſon, who had followed his father on this occaſion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Theſpians and Thebans[175] alone remained with the Spartans, the

[174] *The oracle.*]—Plutarch is very ſevere upon Herodotus for his manner of repreſenting theſe circumſtances; ſome of which he ſays our author has done falſely, others maliciouſly. This however does not ſeem to have been the caſe.

Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented them,

> I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.—
> Then art thou near, thou glorious ſacred hour
> Which ſhall my country's liberty ſecure?
> Thrice hail, thou ſolemn period; thee the tongues
> Of virtue, fame, and freedom, ſhall proclaim,
> Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn! *T.*

[175] *Theſpians and Thebans.*]—Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks only of

the Thebans indeed very reluctantly, but they were detained by Leonidas as hoſtages. The Theſpians were very zealous in the cauſe, and refuſing to abandon their friends, periſhed with them. The leader of the Theſpians was Demophilus, ſon of Diadromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a ſolemn libation, then waiting till that period of the day [176] when the forum is fulleſt of people, he advanced from his camp: to the above meaſure he had been adviſed by Ephialtes. The deſcent from the mountain is of much ſhorter extent than the circuitous aſcent. The Barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded as to inevitable death a much greater ſpace from the defile than they had yet done. Till now they had defended themſelves behind their entrenchment, fighting in the moſt contracted part of the paſſage; but on this day they engaged on a wider ſpace, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop officers were ſtationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the ſea, where they periſhed; many were trodden under foot by

of the Theſpians. Pauſanias ſays that the people of Mycene ſent eighty men to Thermopylæ, who had part in this glorious day; and in another place he ſays, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Theſpians and people of Mycene. —*Larcher*.

[176] *That time of day.*]—I have before explained this circumſtance with reſpect to the mode of computing time.

their

their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against their Barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords [177]. Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, amongst whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas [178]: here the conflict was the most severe, till at

[177] *Their swords.*]—The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore a red uniform; and Suidas says, that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—*T.*

[178] *Body of Leonidas.*]—One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples, that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:

 "Whilst

at length the Greeks by their ſuperior valour four times repelled the Perſians, and drew aſide the body of their prince. In this ſituation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As ſoon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the ſcene was changed, and they retreated to the narroweſt part of the paſs. Having repaſſed their intrenchment, they poſted themſelves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, upon a hill, which is at the entrance of the ſtraits, and where a lion of ſtone [179] has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this ſituation, they who had ſwords left, uſed them againſt the enemy, the reſt exerted themſelves with their hands and their teeth [180]. The Barbarians ruſhing

" Whilſt they were at dinner, the Barbarians fell upon them; upon which Leonidas deſired them to eat heartily, for they were to ſup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himſelf, and ſnatched the crown from his head. He loſt his life in the attempt; and Xerxes, cauſing his body to be opened, found his heart hairy. So ſays Ariſtides, in the firſt book of his Perſian Hiſtory." This fiction ſeems to have been taken from the λασιον κηρ of Homer.

[179] *Lion of ſtone.*]—Two epigrams on this ſubject may be found in the Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc. v. i. 132. v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta by Pauſanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument oppoſite the theatre: every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which Spartans only were ſuffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

[180] *Their teeth.*]—" What are we to think of this hyperbole," ſays Longinus? " What probability is there that men ſhould defend themſelves with their hands and teeth againſt armed troops? This neverthelefs is not incredible, for the thing does

CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thefpians; but none of them all diftinguifhed themfelves fo much as Dieneces the Spartan. A fpeech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having obferved, that the Barbarians would fend forth fuch a fhower of arrows that their multitude would obfcure the fun; he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and defpifing the numbers of the Medes, "our Trachinian friend "promifes us great advantages; if the Medes ob-"fcure the fun's light, we fhall fight with them in "the fhade, and be protected from the heat." Many other fayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the moft diftinguifhed of the Spartans were, Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the fons of Orfiphantus; of the Thefpians, the moft confpicuous was Dithyrambus, fon of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All thefe were interred in the place where they fell, together with fuch of the confederates as were flain before the feparation of the forces by Leonidas. Upon their tomb was this infcription:

"Here once, from Pelops' feagirt region brought,
"Four thoufand men three hoftile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus diftinguifhed:

"Go,

ruſhing upon them, ſome in front, after overturning their wall, others ſurrounding and preſſing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

does not appear to be ſought out for an hyperbole; but the hyperbole ſeems to ariſe from the ſubject."

This circumſtance which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus does not to me; this mode of fighting was common amongſt the Lacedæmonians; when they had no arms, they availed themſelves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witneſs of this.—See the *Tuſculan Queſtions*, book fifth, chapter 27th.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ ſomewhat differently; he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes; but this the Perſian king had forſaken on the firſt alarm. The Greeks however proceeded in ſearch of him from one ſide to the other, and ſlew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Perſians perceiving the Greeks ſo few in number, held them in contempt; but they ſtill did not dare to attack them in front; encompaſſing them on both ſides, and behind, they ſlew them all with their ſpears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his Engliſh Poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus; he differs however from both hiſtorians, in making the king of Sparta fall the laſt; his deſcription is ſufficiently animated to be inſerted in this place:

The Spartan king
Now ſtands alone. In heaps his ſlaughter'd friends
All ſtretch'd around him lie. The diſtant foes
Show'r on his head innumerable darts;
From various ſluices guſh the vital floods;
They ſtain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but thoſe beauteous wounds,
The ſacred pledges of his own renown,
And Sparta's ſafety, in ſereneſt joy
His cloſing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable reſt,
To ſeal his country's liberty by death.

"Go, ſtranger, and to liſt'ning Spartans tell,
"That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one alſo appropriated to the prophet Megiſtias:

"By Medes cut off beſide Sperchius' wave,
"The ſeer Megiſtias fills this glorious grave:
"Who ſtood the fate he well foreſaw to meet,
"And link'd with Sparta's leaders, ſcorn'd retreat."

All theſe ornaments and inſcriptions, that of Megiſtias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides ſon of Leoprepis[181], inſcribed the one to the honour of Megiſtias, from the ties of private hoſpitality.

CCXXIX. Of theſe three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Ariſtodemus; both of them, conſiſtently with the diſcipline of their country, might have ſecured themſelves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent diſorder of the eyes: or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-ſoldiers. In this ſituation, they differed in opinion what conduct to purſue. Eurytus having heard of the circuit made by the Perſians, called for his arms, and putting them on,

[181] *Simonides ſon of Leoprepis.*]—See note to book v. c. 102. The Simonides here mentioned compoſed ſeveral works, the titles of which may be ſeen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Patricius, v. i. p. 565.

commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The ſlave did ſo, and immediately fled, whilſt his maſter died fighting valiantly. Ariſtodemus puſillanimouſly ſtaid where he was. If either Ariſtodemus, being individually diſeaſed, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have ſhewn any reſentment againſt them; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was preciſely in the ſame circumſtances, refuſed to do, it was impoſſible not to be greatly incenſed againſt Ariſtodemus.

CCXXX. The ſafe return of Ariſtodemus to Sparta is by ſome thus related and explained. There are others who aſſert, that he was diſpatched on ſome buſineſs from the army, and might, if he had pleaſed, have been preſent at the battle, but that he ſaved himſelf by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the ſame buſineſs, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Ariſtodemus, on his return, was branded with diſgrace and infamy; no one would ſpeak with him; no one would ſupply him with fire; and the opprobrious term of trembler * was annexed to

* *Trembler.*]—He who trembled, *ὁ τρεσας*; it might be rendered *quaker*: this ſeems to have been an eſtabliſhed term of opprobrium in Sparta; Tyrtæus ſays, *τρεσσαντων δ'ανδρων πασ' απολωλ' αρετη*—"the *tremblers* are devoid of all virtue." See Brunck's Anal. vol. i. p. 49.—*T.*

his

his name; but he afterwards at the battle of Platea effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the command of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the Barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been amongst the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessary to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them however were slain; for as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed upon them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterwards slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, whilst he was making an attempt upon their city.

CCXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought[182] at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterwards sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already, "Demaratus, had experience of your truth and in-"tegrity,

[182] *The Greeks fought.*]—Plutarch censures Herodotus for omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follows: When the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children."—Being desirous to save two of his relations, who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta: "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," says the other, "is the business of a messenger;" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

I cannot in a more proper place than this, make a few miscellaneous remarks upon the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection, a virtue, which if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so called, to make virtue

"tegrity, every thing has happened as you foretold;
"tell me then, how many of the Lacedæmonians
"may there be left, how many of like valour with
"those who have perished, or are they all alike?"

"Sir,"

virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearance, to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expence of the state; the other, which forbade the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them, so that Plutarch informs us, it was a common saying in other countries, "that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities in the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue without life or motion." I would here remark, that this is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue; but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favoured by a character of mind peculiar to this people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans which

"Sir," replied Demaratus, "the Lacedæmonians "are a numerous people, and possessed of many "cities; but I will answer your question more "particularly. Sparta itself contains eight thou-"sand

which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it, for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is therefore but rendering justice to this gallant people to confess, that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes, that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years. —See Orat. pro L. Flacco. Lacedæmonii soli, toto orbe terrarum, septingentos annos et amplius suis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus, vixerunt.—See also *Livy*, book xxx. c. 34.

Plutarch says, only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his Life of Lycurgus. The conquests of Lysander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration; strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit; having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern in

"sand men, all of whom are equal in valour to "those who fought here; the other Lacedæmo- "nians, though inferior to these, are still brave." "Tell me then," returned Xerxes, "how we may "subdue

in them, compared with all other women. Can it then be a matter of wonder, that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families? Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority which the women had usurped, and attempted it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument, that if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principle objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.—See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. Egregios virtutis bellicæ spiritus Lacedæmoniorum, prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur.

And this was unquestionably true, since we are assured, that although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were indeed forbidden to pursue any art which was accounted illiberal; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and most public-spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting the schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public places of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former indeed could mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in

 their

" ſubdue theſe men with leaſt trouble? you who
" have been their prince, muſt know what mea-
" ſures they are likely to purſue."

their vindication, whoſe polity and ſcheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by reſtraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The deſign of Solon was entirely the reverſe; he ſtrove to animate the Athenians with a ſpirit of induſtry; he enacted a law againſt idleneſs, requiring every perſon to have a calling and profeſſion, and the philoſopher who had none fell under the ſtatute. Cleanthes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the Areopagus on this account. The ſtatute which reſtrained the ſtudy of rhetoric at Rome aſſigned this reaſon: " Ibi homines adoleſcentulos totos dies deſidere;" for the ſame reaſon philoſophers were baniſhed, amongſt whom was Epictetus in the reign of Domitian.—See *Aulus Gellius*, l. xv. c. 11.

I have little to ſay on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worſhip ſeems to have been diverſified by them as well as by the Athenians, according to the ſyſtem of politics which their reſpective law-givers eſtabliſhed. Solon, intent upon promoting commerce and gainful arts, preſented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he ſurnamed her from the Ægyptians, Athene and Minerva, ſtiling her the goddeſs of arts and ſciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the diſcipline of war, clothed the ſame goddeſs in armour, called her Pallas and the Goddeſs of Battle (παμμαχος ϗ χαλκιοικος θεα) Ariſtoph. Lyſiſt. ad finem. She was ſtyled Chalciœcus, either becauſe her temple was of braſs, or becauſe it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers alſo, Caſtor and Pollux, were for ſimilar reaſons enrolled in the Faſti of the Spartans; and I preſume, if the Pagan Theology be capable of being reduced to any fixed and ſettled rules, it will be beſt explained and accounted for by ſuppoſing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worſhip, and phyſics, and politics, and that their idols were repreſentations of natural cauſes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of thoſe who ſet them up.—*T.*

CCXXXV.

CCXXXV. "Since, Sir," anſwered Demaratus, "you place a confidence in my opinion, it is proper that I ſhould ſpeak to you from the beſt of my judgment: I would therefore recommend you to ſend a fleet of three hundred veſſels to the coaſt of Lacedæmonia. Contiguous to this is an iſland named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wiſeſt of our countrymen, obſerved, that it would be better for the Spartans if it were buried in the ſea; foreſeeing the probability of ſuch a meaſure as I now recommend. From this iſland your troops may ſpread terror over Sparta. Thus, a war ſo very near them, may remove from you any apprehenſion of their aſſiſting the reſt of Greece, which will then be open to your arms, and which, if ſubdued, will leave Sparta hardly able to oppoſe you. If my advice be diſregarded, you may expect what follows. There is a narrow iſthmus in the Peloponneſe, in which all its people will aſſemble in reſiſtance to your arms, and where you will have far more violent conteſts to ſuſtain than you have here experienced. If you execute what I propoſe, you may without a battle become maſter of the iſthmus, with all the cities of Peloponneſus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was preſent at this interview. Fearful that the king might do as he had been adviſed, he thus delivered his ſentiments: "You ſeem, Sir," ſaid he, "too much inclined to liſten to a man, who either envies your proſ-

" perity,

"perity, or wishes to betray you. It is the character of Greeks to envy the successful, and to hate their superiors. We have already lost by shipwreck four hundred vessels; if we detach three hundred more to the Peloponnese, the force of our opponents will be equal to our own; our united fleet will be far superior to theirs, and with respect to any efforts they can make, invincible. If your forces by land, and your fleet by sea advance at the same time, they will be able mutually to assist each other; if you separate them, the fleet will not be able to assist you, nor you the fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on your own affairs, and not to concern yourself about those of your enemies, nor to enquire where they will commence their hostilities, what measures they will take, or how numerous they are. Let them attend to their affairs, we to ours. If the Lacedæmonians shall presume to attack the Persians, they will be far from repairing the loss they have already sustained."

CCXXXVII. "Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, "I approve your counsel, and will follow it. The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, dictated by his regard to my interests; but your advice to me seems preferable. I cannot be persuaded that he has any improper intentions, events having proved the wisdom of his former counsels. One man frequently envies the prosperity of another, and indulges in secret sentiments of hatred against him, neither will he,

"when

"when he requires it, give him salutary advice, "unless indeed from some surprising effort of vir-"tue; but a friend exults in a friend's happiness; "has no sentiments for him but those of the truest "kindness, and gives him always the best advice. "Let no one therefore in future use any invective "against Demaratus, who is my friend."

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, amongst whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross. This incident is no small proof to me, amongst many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas whilst he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honour military virtue. The orders however of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge amongst the Medes, and as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated, whether to serve or insult them must

be

be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had reſolved on this expedition againſt Greece, Demaratus, who was at Suſa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and eraſed the wax from each; then inſcribed the purpoſe of the king upon the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the ſeveral guards on the road, from ſeeing the empty tablets, might have no ſuſpicion of the buſineſs. When theſe were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, ſhe ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inſcribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

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HERODOTUS.

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MAL.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

Chap. I.

I HAVE before described the events which are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians[1] furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied; the Æginetæ eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, and the Lacedæmonians ten; the

[1] *Athenians.*]—Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

Epidaurians brought eight, the Eretrians ſeven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two, the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty-oars; the Opuntian Locrians aſſiſted the confederates with ſeven veſſels of fifty-oars.

II. Theſe were ſtationed at Artemiſium; and ſuch were the numbers which each nation ſupplied. Without taking into the account the veſſels of fifty-oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and ſeventy-one. Of theſe the commander in chief appointed by the Spartans was Eurybiades, the ſon of Euryclidas. The allies refuſed to ſerve under the Athenians, and had reſolved, unleſs they had a Spartan leader, to diſperſe.

III. At firſt, and before any deputation had been ſent to Sicily requiring aſſiſtance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient to entruſt the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was oppoſed by the allies, the Athenians did not inſiſt upon it [2]. Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece, and as they were ſenſible that this would be endangered by any contention, they very wiſely withdrew their claims: as

[2] *Did not inſiſt upon it.*]—Mr. Glover, in his Poem of the Athenaid, puts this ſentiment into the mouth of Themiſtocles:

Wiſely did we cede
To Spartan Eurybiades command;
The different ſquadrons to their native ports
Had elſe deſerted, &c.

much

much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions, than a war conducted with consistency and union; persuaded of this they did not dispute the matter whilst circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterwards, when having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterwards.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of the Barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece[3]. When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubæans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles the Athenian leader, whom they engaged, on the considera-

[3] *Parts of Greece.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for making this assertion. Pindar, says he, who was a native of a city supposed to be attached to the Medes, mentions the behaviour of the Athenians at Artemisium with the highest encomiums. So perhaps he might, but what does this prove; certainly not that the Greeks did not stay and fight against their will, though when they actually were engaged, they behaved with extraordinary valour.—*T.*

tion of thirty talents, to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: He presented Eurybiades with five talents, as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian [4], the son of Ocytus, who was obstinate in his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "If you," said he, "will not desert, I promise to give you a greater "present than the king of the Medes would have "done for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder, whilst they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The Barbarians arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number.

4 *Adimantus the Corinthian.*]—This Adimantus in the event behaved timidly. He was a Corinthian, and leader of the Corinthians; he must not therefore be confounded with the Athenian Adimantus, who greatly distinguished himself against the Persians, and who, probably, is the same person who was archon in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. An epitaph by Simonides was inscribed on his tomb, intimating, that by his councils Greece became free.—*Larcher.*

On

On their seeing this they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them; they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, least the Greeks perceiving them should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer[5] should escape them.

[5] *Torch bearer.*]—Before trumpets were used in armies, the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars; they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval betwixt them they dropt their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars: thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, "Not even the torch-bearer has escaped." Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterwards became so familiar that it passed into a proverb.—*Larcher.*

It is probable, that in the time of Homer no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works: in both Iliad and Odyssey we find torches placed on the tops of hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are sometimes given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clashed their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea.

He spake, and to confirm his words outflew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh
Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze
Far round illumin'd hell: highly they raged
Against the highest, and fierce *with grasped arms,*
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.—*T.*

 VII.

VII. With this idea they pursued the following measures: two hundred chosen vessels, were detached beyond Sciathus, least in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed squadron set sail; it was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former, an account was taken of the number of those which continued at Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias[6] of Scios,

[6] *Scyllias.*]—The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apellonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scillis. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving; during the tempest, which surprized the Persians near mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the Amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The statue of Cyane was amongst those which by the command of Nero were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us, that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving, was named Pesce or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he could live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of their

Scios, the moſt ſkilful diver of his time, who in the ſhipwreck off Pelion had preſerved to the Perſians an immenſe quantity of treaſure, and at the ſame time conſiderably enriched himſelf. This man had long intended to deſert to the Greeks, but he had never before had the opportunity; he on this day effected his purpoſe; it is uncertain in what manner but if what is related of him be true, it is really aſtoniſhing. It is ſaid, that having leaped into the ſea at Aphetæ, he did not riſe again till he came to Artemiſium, having gone a ſpace of eighty ſtadia through the water. Other things are related of this man, ſome of which appear to be fabulous, whilſt others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion that he eſcaped to Artemiſium in a little veſſel; on his arrival, he informed the commanders of the ſhipwreck [7], and of the ſhips which had been ſent round Eubœa.

IX. Upon this the Greeks called a council: various opinions were delivered, but it was ultimately determined to remain that day on their ſtation, but to depart ſoon after midnight to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been ſent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing againſt them, as ſoon as the twilight appeared, they

their kings had the cruelty to propoſe his diving near the gulph of Charybdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is ſuppoſed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T.*

[7] *Shipwreck.*]—See book vii. chap. 188.

proceeded towards the Barbarians, determining to make experiment of their ſkill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes ſeeing them approach in ſo ſmall a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation[8], and drawing out their veſſels expected to find them an eaſy conqueſt. In this they were not unreaſonable, for their fleet was ſuperior to the Greeks, not only in number but ſwiftneſs; in contempt therefore they ſurrounded them. There were ſome of the Ionians who wiſhed well to the Greeks, and ſerved againſt them with the greateſt reluctance; ſeeing them thus encircled, they were affected with much uneaſineſs concerning them, not ſuppoſing that any could eſcape, ſo inſignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the ſeeming diſtreſs of the Greeks gave great pleaſure; theſe contended

[8] *Extreme infatuation.*]—With the ſame contempt the French are repreſented to have conſidered the Engliſh army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expreſſed with the greateſt poſſible animation by Shakeſpeare, in his Life of Henry the Fifth.

His numbers are ſo few,
His ſoldiers ſick and famiſh'd in their march;
And I am ſure, when he ſhall ſee our army,
He'll drop his heart into the ſink of fear,
And for atchievement, offer us his ranſom.

To the Perſians, as well as to the French, the noble anſwer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

The man that once did ſell the lion's ſkin
While the beaſt liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.

with

with all exertion who ſhould take the firſt Athenian veſſel, in hopes of a reward from the king. For amongſt the Barbarians greater reputation [9] was allowed to the Athenians than to any other of the allies.

XI. The Greeks, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, turned their prows towards the Barbarians, collecting their ſterns into one common centre. On a ſecond ſignal, though compreſſed within a narrow ſpace, they attacked the enemy in front. They ſoon took thirty of the Barbarian veſſels, amongſt whom was Philaon, ſon of Cherſis, and brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly eſteemed in the army. The firſt enemy's ſhip was taken by an Athenian; his name was Lycomedes, the ſon of Æſchreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were ſeparated by the night: the Greeks returned to Artemiſium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ, the iſſue of the conteſt being very different from what they had expected. Of thoſe Greeks who were in the ſervice of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one who went over to his countrymen.

[9] *Greater reputation.*]—Notwithſtanding what is here aſſerted in favour of the Athenians, their own hiſtorian remarks, that from the beſt conjectures he was able to form, his countrymen had done nothing worthy of being recorded, either at home or abroad, from the Trojan to the Perſic and Peloponneſian wars. *Thucydides*, l. i. As I have thrown together at the end of the preceding book ſome remarks on the Spartan policy and manners, the reader at the concluſion of this will find ſome relative to thoſe of Athens.—*T.*

The Athenians, in conſideration of his conduct, aſſigned him ſome lands in Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the ſummer. When night approached, there fell a heavy ſtorm of rain attended with continued thunder from mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the veſſels floating to Aphetæ, were ſo involved amongſt the prows of the ſhips, that the oars were hardly manageable; the forces on board were ſeized with a violent panic, expecting that they were certainly doomed to periſh [10]. They had hardly recovered themſelves from the effect of the firſt ſtorm and ſhipwreck off Pelion, when that ſevere battle at ſea had ſucceeded. As ſoon as this laſt terminated, they had now been attacked again by violent rains, a tempeſtuous ſea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved ſtill more ſevere to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to make a cir-

[10] *Expecting every moment to periſh.*]—An example of terror very much like this, occurs in 1 Samuel, xiv. xv. Though it muſt be acknowledged, that the confuſion into which the camp of the Philiſtines was thrown, is expreſsly attributed to a divine cauſe and was attended with an earthquake.

"And there was trembling in the hoſt, in the field and among the people; the garriſon and the ſpoilers they alſo trembled, and the earth quaked; ſo it was a very great trembling.

"And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah looked, and behold the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another."—*T.*

cuit

cuit round Eubœa. The ſtorm fell upon them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land, and they periſhed in a miſerable manner [11]. It commenced when they were ſtanding towards the ſands of Eubœa; ignorant of their courſe they were driven before the wind, and daſhed againſt the rocks. It ſeemed a divine interpoſition, that the Perſian fleet ſhould thus be rendered equal, or at leaſt not much ſuperior to that of the Greeks: in this manner they were deſtroyed on the Eubœan ſands.

XIV. The Barbarians at Aphetæ ſaw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no ſmall moment, after their paſt calamities, to enjoy the preſent interval of tranquillity. At this juncture the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-

[11] *Miſerable manner.*]—Το τελος σφι εγενετο αχαρι.—Longinus, ſection xliii. p. 160, Pearce's edition, cenſures this expreſſion of αχαρι, as mean and feeble. Pearce does not vindicate our author, neither does Toup; Larcher does, and with conſiderable effect. Boileau, he ſays, has rendered the word αχαρι, *peu agreable*; if this were admitted, the cenſure of Longinus would be reaſonable enough; but in fact αχαρι is a very ſtrong term, and ſignifies ſomething in the higheſt degree ſhocking. Herodotus has applied συμφορη αχαρις, to the murder of a brother, book i. 42; and again to the murder of a ſon, vii. 190. Antoninus Liberalis calls the crime of inceſt between a father and his daughter, αχάρι καὶ αθεσμον εργον, an action horrible and offenſive to all laws. A ſimilar mode of ſpeaking was in uſe amongſt the Romans; every one knows that Virgil applied the word *illaudatus* to Buſiris; and Horace calls Pythagoras, Non ſordidus auctor naturæ verique.

three

three Athenian ſhips: animated by the arrival of their friends, they had ſtill farther reaſon to exult in the fate of thoſe Barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom eſcaped the violence of the ſtorm. The Greeks taking the opportunity of the ſame hour, towards the evening advanced boldly againſt the Cilicians; theſe they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemiſium.

XV. On the third day the leaders of the Barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about mid-day, mutually encouraging each other; they could not bear to be inſulted by ſo inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that theſe engagements by ſea took place preciſely at the ſame periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the ſea fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the paſſage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the Barbarians into Greece; the Barbarians in like manner were emulous to diſperſe the Greeks, and become maſters of theſe paſſages.

XVI. Whilſt the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle, the Greeks remained on their ſtation at Artemiſium; the Barbarians, as if to render themſelves ſecure of them all, encloſed them in a ſemicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle enſued, which was fought on both ſides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the ſize and number

number of its veſſels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other; they fought however with firmneſs, and refuſed to give way, for they could not bear to be put to flight by ſo inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian veſſels periſhed, with a great number of men; but the loſs of the Barbarians was much greater in both: they ſeparated as by mutual conſent.

XVII. Of all thoſe in the fleet of Xerxes, the Ægyptians performed the moſt important ſervice; they diſtinguiſhed themſelves throughout, and took five Grecian veſſels with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were moſt conſpicuous, and of theſe the braveſt was Clinias, ſon of Alcibiades[12]. His ſhip, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expence.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their reſpective ſtations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their veſſels which were damaged, and poſſeſſed the bodies of their dead; but as they had ſuffered ſeverely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whoſe veſſels were diſabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

[12] *Clinias, ſon of Alcibiades.*]—Upon this perſonage Valcnaer has a very elaborate and learned note, but I do not ſee that it contains any thing particularly claiming the attention of the Engliſh reader, except that he was the father of the famous Alcibiades, afterwards ſo celebrated in Greece.—*T.*

XIX.

XIX. Themiſtocles had conſtantly believed, that if he could detach from the Barbarians the Ionians and Carians [13], there would be no difficulty in overpowering the reſt. Whilſt the Eubœans were aſſembling their cattle on the ſea-coaſt, he called the chiefs together, and informed them he had conceived a method, which he believed would deprive the king of the beſt of his allies. At this juncture he explained himſelf no farther, adding only his advice, that they ſhould kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they poſſibly could; for it was much better that their troops ſhould enjoy them than thoſe of the enemy. He recommended them to order their reſpective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to ſelect a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved, the fires were kindled, and the cattle ſlain.

[13] *Carians.*]—Originally theſe people inhabited the iſlands lying near their own coaſt, and ſo much only of the Ægean ſea as was called the Icarian, of which Icarus, the *iſland of Caria*, was the principal iſland; they were then named Leleges and Pelaſgi.—*See Strabo*, l. xii. 661.—572. Afterwards, removing to the continent, they ſeized upon a large tract of the ſea-coaſt, as well as of the inland country: "This," ſays Strabo, "was the opinion moſt generally allowed." Homer applies to the Carians the epithet of βαρβαροφωνων.—Strabo ſuppoſes them to have been ſo called, from ὡς κακως Ελληνιζοντες, and that at firſt a perſon was called barbarous, whoſe ſpeech was thick and coarſe, παχυστομος, though afterwards the word was extended to a more general ſenſe.—Tibullus calls the Latin Turnus barbarous, l. ii. el. 5.

Jam tibi prædico, barbare Turne, necem. T.

XX.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects, nor prepared any provision, which it certainly became those to do who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis [14] was to this effect:

"When barb'rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,
"Then drive your cattle from Eubœa's plain.

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis; there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate to those at Thermopylæ the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his

[14] *The oracle of Bacis.*]—There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia; the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia. This last was also called Cydus and Aletes, and wonderful things are related of him by Theopompus.—*Larcher.*

party.

party. On receiving his intelligence, they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles [15], selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering place, and there engraved upon the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming the next day to Artemisium, perused: "Men of Ionia, in fighting "against your ancestors, and endeavouring to re-"duce Greece to servitude, you are guilty of injus-"tice: take, therefore, an active part in our be-"half; if this be impracticable, retire yourselves "from the contest, and prevail on the Carians to "do the same. If you can comply with neither "of these requisitions, and are so bound by neces-"sity that you cannot openly revolt, when the "conflict begins, retire; remembering that you are "descended from ourselves, and that the first occa-"sion of our dispute with the Barbarians origi-"nated with you." Themistocles, in writing the above, had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks, and if Xerxes should know it, it might

[15] *Themistocles.*]—Bartelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, divides the Athenian history into three distinct intervals, which he calls the commencement, the progress, and the fall of that empire. The first he names the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second, the age of Themistocles, and Aristides, or of glory; the third, the age of Pericles, or of luxury and the arts. —*T.*

incline

incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiæa hastened in a small vessel to inform the Barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report, and as soon as the sun rose the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium; remaining here till mid-day, they proceeded to Histiæa: they then took possession of the city of the Histiæans, and over-ran part of Hellopia [16], and all the coast of Histiæotis.

XXIV. Whilst his fleet continued at Histiæotis, Xerxes having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylæ, of these one thousand were left on the field, the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose; these were afterwards filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiæa, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them: "Xerxes the king, O allies, permits who-

[16] *Hellopia.*]—The whole island of Eubœa was anciently called Helapia; I understand that the Hebrew word which we pronounce Hellap, means of a clear countenance; for this reason the people round Dodona were called Elli and Ellopes, and their country also Ellopia.—*T.*

"ever chooses it to leave his post, and see in what "manner he contends with those foolish men, who "had hoped to overcome him."

XXV. Immediately on this declaration, scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle; coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number of Helots [17] were amongst them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous, to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to the fleet at Histiæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI. A small number of Arcadians deserted to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: "At present," they replied, "they are celebrating the

[17] *Helots.*]—I have in a preceding note spoken of the Helots; but for more particulars concerning them, I beg leave to refer the reader to a Dissertation on the History and Servitude of the Helots, by M. Capperonier, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—*T.*

" Olympic games, and beholding gymnaftic and " equeftrian exercifes." Being a fecond time afked what the prize was for which they contended, they anfwered, " An olive garland." On this occafion Tigranes [18], the fon of Artabanus, having expreffed himfelf in a manner which proved great generofity of foul, was accufed by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all—" What muft " thofe men be, O Mardonius, againft whom you " are conducting us, who contend not for wealth, " but for virtue?"

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ, the Theffalians fent a herald to the Phoceans, with whom they had before been at enmity [19], but particularly fo after their laft overthrow. Some

[18] *Tigranes.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that this name is derived from the Togarmah of fcripture, and given to the chiefs of that houfe; fee Ezekiel, xxxviii. 6.—" Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands." Jofephus writes Togarmah's name, Θυγραμμης, Thygrammis, which fome copies render Thygran, neither of them very unlike Tigranes. —*T.*

[19] *Enmity.*]—The Theffalians being natives of Thefprotia, had feized Æolia, afterwards called Theffaly, whence they attempted to penetrate into Phocea, by the paffage of Thermopylæ; but the Phoceans in this place conftructed a wall, which checked their incurfions. This was the fource of the hatred which thefe people bore each other, and which was carried to fuch extremities, that the Theffalians in one day cut the throats of all the magiftrates and princes of the Phoceans, who, in return, beat to death two hundred and fifty hoftages they had in their hands.—*Larcher.*

years antecedent to this expedition of the king the Theſſalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phoceans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phoceans being ſurrounded at Parnaſſus, happened to have with them Tellias[20] of Eleum, the ſoothſayer, at whoſe inſtigation they concerted the following ſtratagem: They ſelected ſix hundred of their braveſt men, whoſe perſons and arms they made white with chalk; they thus ſent them againſt the Theſſalians,

[20] *Tellias.*]—He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phoceans made a ſtatue of Tellias, which they ſent to Delphi, with thoſe of the chiefs and heroes of their country.—*Larcher.*

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with Pauſanias, l. x. c. i. and the Stratagemata of Polyænus, l. vi. c. 18.—See alſo Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hoſtages, the Theſſalians marched againſt the Phoceans, determining to ſpare no men that were of age, and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, perſuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Theſſalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combuſtible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phoceans ſhould be defeated, were to ſet fire to the pile. To this one perſon objected, ſaying, the women ought to be conſulted on the buſineſs. The women hearing of this, aſſembled together, and not only agreed to it, but highly applauded Diaphantus for propoſing it: it is alſo ſaid, that the children alſo met together, and reſolved on the ſame thing. The Phoceans afterwards engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this reſolution of the Phocean women *aponoia*, deſperation. The greateſt feaſt of the Phoceans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphebolia*, in commemoration of this victory.

under

under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themſelves. The Theſſalian out-poſts, who firſt ſaw them, conceived them to be ſomething ſupernatural. Theſe communicated their panic to the body of the army, in conſequence of which the Phoceans ſlew four thouſand, and carried away their ſhields: half of theſe ſhields were conſecrated at Abas, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which reſulted from this victory was applied to erect the large ſtatues which are to be ſeen round the tripod before the temple at Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abas.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Theſſalian foot, by whom they had been ſurrounded: their horſe, which had made incurſions into their country, they effectually deſtroyed. At the entrance to Phocis near Hyampolis they ſunk a deep trench, into which having thrown a number of empty caſks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Theſſalians: theſe advancing, as if to capture the Phoceans, fell in amongſt the caſks, by which the legs of their horſes were broken.

XXIX. Theſe two diſaſters had ſo much exaſperated the Theſſalians, that they ſent an herald to ſay thus to the Phoceans: "As you are now, O "Phoceans, rendered wiſer by experience, it be- "comes you to acknowledge yourſelves our infe-

" riors. When we formerly thought it consistent " to be united with the Greeks, we were always " superior to you: we have now so much influence " with the Barbarian, that it is in our power " to strip you of your country, and reduce you to " slavery. We are nevertheless willing to forget " past injuries, provided you will pay us fifty " talents: on these terms we engage to avert the " evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone, of all the people of this district, did not side with the Medes, and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have attached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans in reply refused to give the money: they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes, as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly, that they offered themselves as guides to the Barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent, it is situate betwixt Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnese: the

Barbarians

Barbarians penetrated into Doria, but without committing any devaſtations. The Theſſalians did not wiſh them to commit any violence here, and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the intereſts of the Medes.

XXXII. The Barbarians paſſed from Doris into Phocis, but did not make themſelves maſters of the perſons of the inhabitants. Of theſe ſome had taken refuge on the ſummits of Parnaſſus[21], at a

[21] *Parnaſſus.*]—This celebrated mountain had a forked ſummit with two vertices; of theſe one was ſacred to Apollo, the other to Bacchus.—See Joddrel on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheler, in his Travels into Greece, has given an engraving of this poetical circumſtance, ſo often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he obſerves, that the high cliffs ſeem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He alſo adds, that there is a fountain with a very plentiful ſource of water continually flowing out from a cavity cloſe to this mountain, which by the marble ſteps leading to it ſhould be the fountain Caſtalia. Lucan obſerves, that at the time of the deluge Parnaſſus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water, l. v. 75.

Hoc ſolum fluctu terras mergente cacumen
Eminuit, pontoque fuit diſcrimen et aſtris.

Which lines are thus diffuſely rendered by Rowe:

When o'er the world the deluge wide was ſpread,
This only mountain rear'd its lofty head;
One riſing rock preſerv'd, a bound was given
Between the vaſty deep and ambient heaven.

L. v. *ver.* 17.

Sir George Wheler ſays, "I eſteem this mountain not only the higheſt in all Greece, but one of the higheſt in all the world, and not inferior to mount Cenis among the Alps."

 place

place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A greater number had fled to Amphiſſa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Criſæum. The Barbarians effectually over-ran Phocis, to which the Theſſalians conducted them; whatever occurred they deſtroyed with fire and ſword, and both the cities and ſacred temples were burned.

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephiſſus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one ſide they burned the city Drymon, on the other Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon[22], Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abas. At this laſt place is an edifice ſacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treaſures[23] and offerings. Here as now was an oracle. This temple, having plundered, they ſet on fire. They purſued the Phoceans, and overtook ſome of them near the mountains; many of their female captives died, from the great number who committed violence on their perſons.

XXXIV. Paſſing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans[24]; at this place the army was

[22] *Neon.*]—M. Larcher thinks, and with great reaſon, that the Neon in this paſſage ſhould be read Cleon.

[23] *Treaſures.*]—As the greater part of the Grecian cities ſent their wealth to Delphi, it is very probable, ſays M. Larcher, that thoſe of Phocis depoſited theirs at Abas.

[24] *Paropeans.*]—D'Anville, in his Geography, reverſes this order, and places the Paropeans before the Parapotamians.

divided into two bodies, of which the one moſt numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Bœotia through the Orchomenian territories. The Bœotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preſerving the Bœotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had ſtationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march purſued by one part of the Barbarians.

XXXV. The other diviſion, keeping Parnaſſus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phoceans they totally laid waſte, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after ſeparating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi, and of preſenting its treaſures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowledge of the treaſures which this temple contained than of thoſe which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their buſineſs to inform him of its contents, and more particularly of the offerings of Crœſus, the ſon of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians on hearing this were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation, and applying to the oracle, deſired to be inſtructed whether they ſhould bury the ſacred treaſures in the earth, or remove

move them to ſome other place. They were ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their ſole care therefore was employed about themſelves, and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of themſelves the greater part fled to the ſummits of Parnaſſus, and to the Corycian cave[25];

[25] *Corycian cave.*]—This was at the baſe of mount Corycus, and ſaid by Pauſanias to have been of vaſt extent; it was ſacred to the muſes, who from thence were called Nymphæ Corycides. See Ovid, Met. i. 320.

Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorant.

It ſhould ſeem, that in the countries of the Eaſt ſubterraneous caves were very frequent, and uſed by ſhepherds to ſleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coaſt, or rather the mountains on this coaſt, are remarkable for the number of caves in them.—*See Harmer's Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture*, vol. iii. p. 61.

We find in the Hiſtory of the Croiſades, by the archbiſhop of Tyre, that Baldwin the Firſt preſented himſelf, with ſome troops which he had got together, before Aſcalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. Upon which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the ſea, and found villages whoſe inhabitants having left their houſes, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *ſubterraneous caves*.

See alſo 1 Samuel, xiii. 11.

" And both of them diſcovered themſelves unto the garriſon of the Philiſtines; and the Philiſtines ſaid, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the *holes* where they had hid themſelves."

Again—Judges, vi. 2.

" And becauſe of the Midianites, the children of Iſrael made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and *caves*, and ſtrong holds."—*T.*

others

others took refuge at Amphiſſa in Locria. Excepting ſixty men, with the principal prieſt, the city of Delphi was entirely deſerted.

XXXVII. When the Barbarians approached, and were in ſight of the temple, the prophet, whoſe name was Aceratus, obſerved that the ſacred arms, which had ever been preſerved in the ſanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed [26] to the outward front of the temple; he haſtened to acquaint thoſe Delphians who remained with the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea, more portentous appearances were ſeen. It might be thought ſufficiently wonderful, that the arms ſhould ſpontaneouſly have removed themſelves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterwards happened was yet more aſtoniſhing. As the Barbarians drew near

[26] *Were removed.*]—A little before the battle of Leuctra it was ſaid that the temples opened of themſelves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules diſappeared, as if Hercules himſelf was gone to be preſent at that engagement. But many did not ſcruple to ſay, that theſe miracles were contrived by the magiſtrates.—*Xenophon.*

Julius Obſequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, ſays, that A. U. 652. Haſtæ Martis in regia ſua ſponte motæ—The ſpears of Mars, preſerved in the palace, moved of their own accord. Amongſt the prognoſtics which preceded the aſſaſſination of Cæſar, Virgil mentions the ſound of arms heard all over Germany.

Armorum ſonitum toto Germania cælo
Audiit. *T.*

the

the temple of Minerva Pronea, a ſtorm of thunder burſt upon their heads; two immenſe fragments of rock[27] were ſeparated from the tops of Parnaſſus, which rolling down with a horrid noiſe, deſtroyed a vaſt multitude. At the ſame time there proceeded from the ſhrine of the goddeſs loud and martial ſhouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impreſſed ſo great a terror on the Barbarians, that they fled in confuſion. The Delphians, perceiving this[28], deſcended

[27] *Fragments of rock.*]—

The double head
Of tall Parnaſſus reeling from the crag
Unloos'd two fragments: mountainous in bulk
They roll to Delphi, with a craſhing ſound
Like thunder nigh, whoſe burſt of ruin ſtrikes
The ſhatter'd ear with horror.—
They move, and paſſing by Minerva's grove,
Two monuments of terror ſee.—There ſtopp'd
The maſſy fragments from Parnaſſus rent;
An act of nature, by ſome latent cauſe
Diſturb'd. Tremendous o'er Barbarian ranks
The ruins down the ſacred way had roll'd,
Leaving its ſurface horrible to ſight,
Such as might ſtartle war's remorſeleſs god,
And ſhake his heart of adamant. *Athenaid.*

The ſame events are recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. & c. 4.

[28] *Perceiving this.*]—

The Delphian race,
By fear ſo lately to the neighbouring hills
And caves reſtrain'd, forſake their ſhelt'ring holds;
In cluſters ruſhing on the foes diſmay'd,
Accompliſh their defeat. *Athenaid.*

deſcended and ſlew a great number. They who eſcaped fled to Bœotia; theſe, as I have been informed, related that beſides the above prodigies, they ſaw alſo two armed beings of more than human ſize, who purſued and ſlaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians ſay that theſe two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonous, to whom ſome buildings near the temple had been conſecrated. That of Phylacus ſtands on the public road near the temple of Minerva Pronea, that of Autonous near Caſtalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnaſſus have been preſerved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they firſt fixed themſelves after rolling through the Barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XL. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemiſium, at the requeſt of the Athenians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in ſoliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate upon what meaſures they ſhould purſue. To this alſo they were farther induced, becauſe things had hitherto happened contrary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of the Peloponneſe, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the Barbarians in Bœotia. Inſtead of which, they learned

learned they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnese with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station at Salamis.

XLI. Whilst the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald [29], that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians, that there is a large serpent [30] in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed, at this juncture they were untouched [31]. The priestess having made this incident

[29] *By a herald.*]—It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation.—*Larcher.*

[30] *Large serpent.*]—See Bryant on the subject of serpent-worship, vol. i. p. 476, &c. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T.*

[31] *Untouched.*]—It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular; see his Life, as given by Plutarch.

known,

known, the Athenians ſtill more precipitately deſerted the city, believing that their goddeſs had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they haſtened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that thoſe who had left Artemiſium had taken their ſtation at Salamis, all the veſſels which were at Trœzene haſtened to join them; orders having been previouſly iſſued to aſſemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemiſium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybiades, the ſon of Euryclidas, who had commanded at Artemiſium, was the leader alſo on the preſent occaſion, though not of the blood royal. The veſſels of the Athenians were the moſt numerous, and the beſt ſailors.

XLIII. The fleet was thus compoſed: Of the people of the Peloponneſe, the Lacedæmonians furniſhed ſixteen veſſels, the Corinthians the ſame number as at Artemiſium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All theſe, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians are from Dryopis, they had formerly been expelled by Hercules, and the Melians of the diſtrict now called Doris.—Theſe were the forces from the Peloponneſe.

XLIV. Of those situated upon the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Platæans were not present at the battle of Salamis, and for this reason; when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Platæans, landing on the opposite coast of Bœotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects, in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops [32] they took the name of Cecropidæ. The title of Athenians was given them

[32] *Cecrops.*]—Strabo cites Hecatæus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks; and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs he alledges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c. which he says evidently prove a foreign language; το βαρβαρον εμφαινεται.

Thucydides, l. i. at the beginning, with the Scholia says, that the Ionians were called Pelargi or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually named of a *saunterer*, πλανητικος; this shews that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek αργος, explaining the word πολυπλανον by ταχυ προς αναστασεις, quick in changing their settlements.—*T.*

Ægeus of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed; and the first king of the country is said to have been Δρακων, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man, blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says, that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c.—*Bryant*, vol. i. 484, *&c.*

when

when Erectheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians [33] was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels as at Artemisium. The Ampraciatæ brought a reinforcement of seven ships: the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels, they had others, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty, in which they fought at Salamis, were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Œnone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the

[33] *Ionians.*]—See Genesis, x. 4.

"And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, and Chittim, and Dodanim."

Bochart places Javan and his sons in Europe, assigning to the father, Greece; to Elisha, Peloponnesus; to Tarshish, Tartessus in Spain; to Chittim, Latium in Italy; and to Dodanim, a part of France, l. iii. c. 7.—Javan he considers as the prince of Ionia.—*T.*

 Medes,

Medes, but they had gone over to the Greeks, by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians [34] brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both these last people are Dryopians. The allies were farther assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the Barbarian earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people appeared as confederates in the war, who inhabit the region betwixt the Thesproti and the river Acheron [35]. The Thesproti

[34] *Cythnians.*]—These islanders were of no great strength or importance. "If," says Demosthenes, "I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated."—*Larcher.*

[35] *Acheron.*]—Here Hercules descended into hell, and hither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons. See Theocritus, Idyl. iii. 48. with Scholia; see also Theoc. Id. xv. 135; where Adonis is said to be the only hero who had this privilege:

Ημιθεων ὡς φαντι μονωτατος.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Ægyptians may perhaps be esteemed the original authors; and that the descent of their king

Thesproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still farther distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel[36], assisted Greece in its danger: it was com-

king Rhampsinitus to the infernal regions is older than that of Hercules. Homer, in the 10th Od. enumerates Acheron amongst the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it, εις Αχεροντα ρεουσι. Pope diffusely renders this the flaming gulph of Acheron; Homer says no such thing.—*T.*

[36] *One vessel.*]—Pausanias says that this vessel was provided and manned at the private expence of Phayllus; which induces Valcnaer to believe that the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt, and that instead of νηΐ μιῇ, we should read οικηΐῃ νηΐ. Plutarch also, in his Life of Alexander, says, that the Crotoniatæ were permitted to plunder the Persians, out of respect to Phayllus, who equipped a vessel at his own expence to assist the Greeks at Salamis.

There was a statue at Delphi of this Phayllus.

I find mention made of Phayllus twice in Aristophanes; once in the Acharnenses, 210.

—— οτ' εγω φερων
Ανθρακων φορτιον
Ηκολουθουν Φαυλλῳ τρεχων.

In the Scholiast to which passage we are told that there were others of this name; concerning this there is a Greek epigram, which says he could leap fifty-five feet, and throw the discus ninety-five.

Πεντ' επι πεντηκοντα ποδας πηδησε Φαϋλλος,
Δισκευσεν δ' εκατον πεντ' απολειπομενων.

Which I have somewhere seen thus rendered in Latin:

Saltum ad quinque pedes quinquagintaque Phayllus,
Discum ad centum egit quinque minus pedibus.

He is again mentioned in the Vespæ, 1201, for his swiftness in the course.—*T.*

manded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious [37] at the Pythian games.—The Crotoniatæ are of Achæan origin.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty-oars; the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction [38]: the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they possessed would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost, and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority, that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of

[37] *Three times victorious.*]—Pausanias says, that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

[38] *Spartan extraction.*]—Thucydides, book v. says the same thing; Μηλιοι Λακεδαιμονιων μεν εισιν αποικοι, the Melians are a Lacedæmonian colony: so also does Xenophon, Hist. Græc. l. ii. The particulars of their migration are related at length by Plutarch, in his Treatise of the Virtues of Women, where he speaks of the Tyrrhene women.—*T.*

the Peloponnefe; for if, it was urged, a defeat ſhould be the iſſue of a conteſt at Salamis, they would be expoſed to a ſiege on the iſland, without the proſpect of relief; but from the iſthmus they might eaſily retire to their reſpective countries.

L. Whilſt the leaders were revolving this matter, a meſſenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the Barbarian had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes, in their paſſage through Bœotia, had ſet fire to the city of the Theſpians, who had retired to the Peloponneſe. They had alſo burned the city of the Plateans, and proceeding onwards, were now about to ravage Athens [39]. They had ſo treated Theſpia and Platea, becauſe informed by the Thebans that theſe places were hoſtile to them.

LI. After paſſing the Helleſpont, the Barbarians had remained a month in its vicinity before they

[39] *Ravage Athens.*]—The following lines, deſcribing the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are highly animated and poetical.

Her olive groves now Attica diſplay'd;
The fields where Ceres firſt her gifts beſtow'd,
The rocks whoſe marble crevices the bees
With ſweetneſs ſtor'd; unparallel'd in art
Roſe ſtructures growing on the ſtranger's eye
Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death,
From his pale courſer ſcatt'ring waſte around,
The regal homicide of nations paſs'd,
Unchaining all the furies of revenge
On this devoted country, &c. *Athenaid.*

 advanced

advanced: three more were employed in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was chief magiſtrate. They found the city deſerted; an inconſiderable number remained in the temple, with the treaſurers [40] of the temple, and a few of the meaner ſort, who, with a palliſade of wood, attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. Theſe had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall of wood would prove invincible. This they had referred not to the ſhips, but to the defence of wood which on this occaſion they erected.

LII. The Perſians encamped on the hill oppoſite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars [41], and thus commenced their attack: they ſhot

[40] *Treaſurers.*]—See Suidas, at the word Ταμιαι; theſe, he tells us, were Athenian magiſtrates, and were ten in number: The ſhrine of Minerva, of Victory, with their ornaments and wealth, were delivered to them in the preſence of the ſenate.

[41] *Hill of Mars.*]—On this place was held the celebrated court of the Areopagus, of which, as it bore ſo high a rank in the conſtitution of the Athenian republic, the following ſuccinct account from Gillies may be acceptable.

"The court of the Areopagus, originally entruſted with the criminal juriſdiction, aſſumed an extenſive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens: it conſiſted only of ſuch magiſtrates as had diſcharged with approbation the duties of their reſpective offices. The members were named for life, and as from the nature of the inſtitution they were generally perſons of a mature age, of an extenſive experience, and who having

ſhot againſt the entrenchment of wood arrows wrapped in tow, and ſet on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the laſt extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obſtinately refuſed to liſten to conditions, and would not hear the Piſiſtratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to ſurrender. They reſiſted to the laſt, and when the Perſians were juſt about to enter, they rolled down upon them ſtones of an immenſe ſize. Xerxes, not able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIII. In the midſt of their embarraſſment the Barbarians diſcovered a reſource: indeed the oracle had declared, that whatever the Athenians poſſeſſed on the continent ſhould be reduced to the power of the Perſians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular aſcent, there was a cragged and unguarded paſs, by which it was not thought poſſible that any man could force his way. Here, however, ſome of the enemy mounted, near the temple of Aglauros [42], the daughter of Cecrops. As ſoon as the Athenians diſcovered them, part

having already attained the aim, had ſeen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to reſtrain the impetuous paſſions of the multitude, and to ſtem the torrent of popular phrenzy."

[42] *Aglauros.*]—This word is written Aglauros in Pauſanias, l. i. c. 18; in Ovid. Met. l. ii. 739.

Aglauros lævum, medium poſſederat Herſe.

Larcher neverthelefs, on the authorities of Apollodorus and of Stephen of Byzantium, writes it Agraulos; ſee his elaborate note.

threw themselves over the wall and were killed; others retired into the building. The Persians who entered forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge: they afterwards plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. On the following day he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel, and there sacrifice according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction, on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance:—There is in the citadel a temple sacred to Erectheus [43], who is said to have been the offspring

[43] *Erectheus.*]—See book v. c. 82. Not only Erectheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but, as I have before shewn, all the Athenians also. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erectheus, from which Neptune was called Erecthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erectheus was deified, because in a contest with Eumolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should be

offspring of the earth: in this is an olive[44] and a sea[45], believed to have been placed there by Neptune

be victorious; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.*—Taylor's edition, 217.

Concerning his being deemed an offspring of the earth, Farnaby, on this kind of fortuitous generation, is worth consulting, in his note on Ovid. Met. i. 416.

Pausanias, in his Atticis, c. xxvii. mentions two large figures in brass in a fighting attitude, supposed to represent Erectheus, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus.—*T.*

44 *An olive.*]—This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time; it was in the citadel: and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher.*

Some oil made of this olive, which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa. See the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes, and to the 10 Nem. Ode of Pindar, ver. 65. See a whole oration of Lysias; υπερ τȣ σηκȣ.—*T.*

45 *A sea.*]—This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea water was conducted.

"In itself," says Pausanias, "there is nothing remarkable; but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves; and upon the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute betwixt Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica."—See *Pausanias,* l. i. c. 26.

The same was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylase, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland, that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher.*

The word sea is used in the same manner for a large cistern by our interpreters of the bible; see 2 Kings, xxv. 13.

"And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and

tune and Minerva, in teſtimony of their diſpute[46] concerning this country: this olive the Barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians, who had been ſent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, obſerved that this olive had put forth a new ſhoot, a cubit[47] in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were ſeized with conſternation; many of the leaders, without waiting the reſult of the council as to their future conduct, went haſtily on board, hoiſted their ſails, and prepared to fly. It was inſtantly determined by thoſe who remained, that they muſt only riſk an engagement at ſea near the iſthmus. At the approach of night they left the aſſembly, and returned to their ſhips.

and the baſes, and the *brazen ſea* that were in the houſe of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the braſs of them to Babylon."

This ſea is deſcribed, 1 Kings, vii. 23, to be ten cubits from one brim to the other. The Greek word in Herodotus, and in the Septuagint, is θαλασση. This meaning of the Engliſh word *ſea* I do not find either in Chambers's or Johnſon's Dictionary.—*T.*

[46] *Their diſpute.*]—This is ſaid to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, ſtruck with his trident the midſt of the citadel, from which ſprang a horſe; Minerva produced an olive: Jupiter aſſigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

[74] *A cubit.*]—Pauſanias ſays two cubits. I ſuppoſe, ſays Larcher, the miracle encreaſed with the time.

LVII. As ſoon as Themiſtocles had retired to his veſſel, Mneſiphilus, an Athenian, came to aſk him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their reſolution to ſail to the iſthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponneſe, he expreſſed himſelf as follows: "If the allies," ſaid he, "ſhall once leave "Salamis, you will never have the opportunity "of fighting for your country. The fleet will "certainly ſeparate, and each nation return to "their reſpective homes, and neither Eurybiades "nor any one elſe will be able to prevent them: "thus Greece will periſh from the want of judicious "counſel. Make haſte, therefore, and endeavour "to counteract what has been determined; if it be "poſſible, prevail on Eurybiades to change his "purpoſe and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was ſo agreable to Themiſtocles, that without returning an anſwer he went to the veſſel of Eurybiades. As ſoon as he ſaw him, he expreſſed his deſire to ſpeak with him on what was of importance to the common intereſt: he was deſired to come on board, and declare his ſentiments. Themiſtocles, ſeated by him, related what had been ſaid by Mneſiphilus, as from himſelf, which he ſo enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, and perſuaded to leave his ſhip, and again aſſemble the leaders.

LIX. As ſoon as they were met, and before Eu-

rybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themiſtocles ſpake at ſome length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, ſon of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him: "Themiſtocles," ſaid he, "at the public games "they who riſe before their time are beaten." "True," replied Themiſtocles, "but they who "are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades; he did not repeat what he had ſaid to him before, that as ſoon as the fleet ſhould leave Salamis the confederates would diſperſe, for as they were preſent he did not think it proper to accuſe any one. He had recourſe to other arguments: "The ſafety of Greece," ſaid he, "depends on you; whether, liſtening to me, you "come to an engagement here, or, perſuaded by "thoſe who are of a contrary opinion, you ſhall "conduct the fleet to the iſthmus; hear the argu- "ments on both ſides, and then determine. If we "fight at the iſthmus, we muſt fight in the open "ſea, where, on account of our heavier veſſels and "inferior number, we ſhall have every diſadvan- "tage: add to this, that if every thing elſe ſucceed "to our wiſhes, we ſhall yet loſe Salamis, Megara, "and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will "accompany their fleet, which you will thus draw "to the Peloponneſe, and involve all Greece in "danger. By adopting what I recommend you "will have theſe advantages: By fighting within "a narrower ſpace of ſea, our ſmall force will be

" better able to contend with the greater armament " of the enemy, and, according to the common " chances of war, we ſhall have deciſively the ad- " vantage. For us it muſt be moſt eligible to " contend in a ſmall ſpace, as for them to fight in " a large one. Thus alſo will Salamis be pre- " ſerved, where our wives and children remain; " and thus too the very advantage of which you " yourſelves are ſolicitous will be ſecured. By " remaining here you will as effectually defend the " Peloponneſe as by ſailing to the iſthmus; and it " will be extremely injudicious to draw the enemy " there. If, as I ſincerely wiſh, we ſhall obtain " the victory, the Barbarians will neither advance " to the iſthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica: " they will retire in confuſion. We ſhall thus be " benefited by preſerving Salamis, Megara, and " Ægina, where the oracle has promiſed we ſhall " be ſuperior to our enemy. They whoſe delibe- " rations are regulated by reaſon [48] generally ob- " tain their wiſhes, whilſt they who are raſh in their " deciſions muſt not expect the favour of the " gods."

LXI. Themiſtocles was a ſecond time interrupted by Adimantus of Corinth, who ordered him to

[48] *Regulated by reaſon.*]—

True fortitude is ſeen in great exploits,
Which juſtice warrants, and which wiſdom guides;
All elſe is tow'ring phrenzy and diſtraction. *Addiſon.*

be

be ſilent, as not having now a country[49]; and he added that Eurybiades could only then conſiſtently ſuffer Themiſtocles to influence his determination, when he ſhould again have a city: this he ſpake in alluſion to the plunder and capture of Athens. Themiſtocles in reply heaped many reproaches upon the Corinthians, and upon their leader in particular; and he farther urged, that they ſtill poſſeſſed a country and a city, in effect greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred vesſels[50], well provided

[49] *Not having now a country.*]—

Proud Adimantus, on his birth elate,
- - - - - - - aroſe and ſpake:
For public ſafety when in council meet
Men who have countries, ſilence beſt becomes
Him who has none—Shall ſuch preſume to vote?
Too patient Spartan, nay, to dictate here,
Who cannot tell us they poſſeſs a home, &c. *Athenaid.*

[50] *Two hundred veſſels.*]—Ariſtotle writes, that the ſenate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ to every ſoldier, and thus the complement of men was ſoon provided. Clidemnus ſays that this money was procured by the artifice of Themiſtocles: whilſt the Athenians, ſays he, aſſembled at Piræus to embark, the ægis of the ſtatue of Minerva was loſt. Themiſtocles pretending to make a ſearch, found amongſt the baggage an immenſe ſum of money, which being divided, ſpread abundance amongſt their fleet.—*Larcher.*

Thus brief he [Themiſtocles] clos'd:—
Athenians ſtill poſſeſs
A city buoyant on two hundred keels.
Thou admiral of Sparta frame thy choice;—
Fight, and Athenians ſhall thy arm ſuſtain:
Retreat, Athenians ſhall retreat to ſhores
Which bid them welcome. *Athenaid.*

with

with ſtores and men, a force which none of the Greeks would be able to reſiſt.

LXII. He afterwards proceeded to addreſs himſelf to Eurybiades in particular. "If," ſaid he, with greater earneſtneſs, "you continue here, you "will deſerve our univerſal gratitude; if not, you "will be the deſtroyer of Greece. In this war "our fleet conſtitutes our laſt, our only reſource. "You may be aſſured, that unleſs you accede to "my advice, we will take on board our families, "and remove with them to Siris in Italy [51], which "from remote times has been conſidered as be- "longing to us, and where, if the oracle may be "credited, we ought to found a city. Deprived "of our aſſiſtance, you will hereafter have occaſion "to remember my words."

LXIII. By theſe arguments Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I ſhould ſuppoſe, from his fears leſt, if they ſailed to the iſthmus, they ſhould be deſerted by the Athenians, without whoſe aid they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded therefore to what Themiſtocles propoſed, and conſented to ſtay and fight at Salamis.

[51] *In Italy.*]—

To Heſperian ſhores
For them by ancient oracles reſerv'd;
Safe from inſulting foes and falſe allies. *Athenaid.*

LXIV.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined therefore to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ. This was accordingly done: after calling upon all the gods, they invoked Ajax and Telamon, and dispatched a vessel to Ægina, to intreat the aid of Æacus and the Æacidæ [52].

LXV. Dicæus the son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and wasted by the army of Xerxes, reported that he was with Demaratus of Sparta on the plains of Thria. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from Eleusis. Whilst they were wondering from whence it could proceed, Dicæus affirms that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic Iacchus [53]. Demaratus,

[52] *Æacidæ.*]—See book v. c. 80.—Consult Pausanias, book ii. c. 29.

Near the port of the island of Ægina there is a temple of Venus, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a temple of Æacus, called the Æaceium. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus from all parts of Greece.

[53] *Iacchus.*]—On the 20th of the month Boëdromion, which answers to our October, which was the 16th day of the festival of

Demaratus, being ignorant of the Eleuſinian myſteries [54], inquired the meaning of the noiſe which he heard. "Demaratus," anſwered Dicæus, "ſome "great calamity is impending over the forces of "the king: Attica being deſerted, it is evidently "the divinity which ſpeaks, and is now coming "from Eleuſis to aſſiſt the Athenians and their "allies.

of the myſteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramians to Eleuſis a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the proceſſion they ſung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was alſo called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher.*

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Euſtathius, *απο τȣ ιαχειν*, from bawling out. Iacchus is uſed by Virgil as ſynonymous with vinum, becauſe Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: ſome ſay he was the ſon of Ceres. In the myſteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proſerpine; but he is not always conſidered as the ſon of Ceres, though nurſed at her breaſt.—See *Lucretius, and Salmaſius ad Solinum*, p. 750.

The circumſtance of the myſtica vannus, or myſtical fan, which in this ſolemnity was carried before the image of Iacchus, is thus curiouſly explained by Servius, ad Georg. i. 166. The fan, ſays he, was carried in proceſſion before Bacchus, becauſe they who were initiated into his myſteries are purified as corn is by the uſe of the fan or van.—*T.*

54 *Myſteries.*]—I have before ſpoken on the ſubject of theſe myſteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them in Warburton's Divine Legation, and in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis, vol. v. 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were inſtructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwiſe: they might perhaps, ſays the learned Frenchman, do this with reſpect to thoſe whom they found inclined to believe this dog-

" allies. If this ſhall appear in the Peloponneſe " the king himſelf, and the forces which are with " him, will be involved in the greateſt danger; " if it ſhall ſhew itſelf at Salamis, the deſtruction " of the king's fleet will probably enſue. Once in " every year the Athenians ſolemnize theſe rites " to Ceres and Proſerpine, when alſo they ini- " tiate into the myſteries ſuch of the Greeks as " may deſire it. The ſound which you hear is " the voice of Iacchus." To this he ſays Demaratus made him this reply: " Make no mention " of this to any one. If what you ſay ſhould be " communicated to the king, you will certainly " loſe your head, and neither myſelf nor any one " elſe will be able to ſave you: be ſilent therefore, " and leave the event to the gods." He added, that after the duſt and voice which they ſaw and heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its courſe towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would be defeated. This was reported by Dicæus [55] the ſon

ma; but they preached atheiſm to a ſelect number, in whom they found a favourable diſpoſition to receive it. The temple of Ceres, where theſe myſteries were celebrated, was one of the nobleſt in Greece; it is deſcribed by Strabo, book ix. and by Vitruvius, book vii. A view of it is given in the " *Ruins of Athens*;" and it is deſcribed alſo by Chandler in his Travels in Greece. There were the greater and the leſſer myſteries; the latter of which belonged to Proſerpine only. —*T.*

[55] *Dicæus.*]—Upon this name the following pleaſant anecdote occurs in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis.

A Per-

ſon of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

LXVI. The naval troops of Xerxes, after being ſpectators of the ſlaughter of the Spartans, paſſed over from Trachis to Hiſtiæa, where they remained three days: thence ſailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum[56]. The land and

A Perſian, who founded all his merit on the ſplendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Suſa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to ſit near a number of Athenians who were talking together—he was anxious to know their names. The firſt, ſays I, is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable*; immediately my Perſian makes a low bow to *Eudoxus*: the ſecond, I continued, is named *Polycletus*, or *the very celebrated*; another very low bow. Doubtleſs, ſays he, theſe two are at the head of the republic. Oh no, they are people whom no body knows. That third perſon, who ſeems ſo infirm, is called *Megaſthenes*, or *the very ſtrong*; the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very ſwift*; yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the chearful*. The ſixth, ſays the Perſian impatiently, how is he called? *Soſtrates*, or *the ſaviour of the army*. He has commanded then? No; he has never been in the ſervice. The ſeventh, yonder, who is called *Clitomachus*, which ſignifies *illuſtrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicæus*, or *the juſt*, a moſt notorious raſcal.—I was going to name the ninth, when the ſtranger roſe and ſaid, How all theſe people diſgrace their names! But at leaſt, ſays I, you muſt confeſs, that their names do not make them coxcombs.—*T.*

[56] *Phalerum.*]—Athens had three ports near each other, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. Phalerum was ſaid to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jaſon in the Argonautic expedition. Theſeus ſailed from it for Crete, and Meneſtheus his ſucceſſor for Troy; and it continued to be the haven

and ſea forces were neither of them, as far as I can determine, leſs in number when they laid waſte Attica than when they firſt arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. To ſupply the loſs of thoſe who periſhed from the ſtorm, and who were ſlain at Thermopylæ and Artemiſium, there arrived from thoſe nations which had not yet declared for the king reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactrians, who, except the Theſpians and Platæans, joined him with all their troops. To theſe may be added the Caryſtians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the iſlands, except the five ſtates[57] before ſpecified. The farther the Perſians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers they were followed.

LXVII. All theſe troops except the Parians aſſembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians[58] ſtaid at Cythnus waiting the event of the war. At

haven of Athens to the time of Themiſtocles. It is a ſmall port of a circular form; the entrance narrow, the bottom a clear fine ſand, viſible through the tranſparent water. The fane of Ariſtides, and his monument, which was erected at the public expence, were by this port. The capital port was Piræus.—*Chandler.*

Chandler writes Phalerum; Pococke Phalereus and Pyræium; D'Anville, Phalerus; Meurſius, in his tract called Piræus, or an Eſſay on the Port of that Name, writes Phalerum, and properly. This was the moſt ancient port of the three.—*T.*

[57] *Five ſtates.*]—Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphus, and Cythnus.

[58] *Parians.*]—The Parians ſhared with the Perſians the diſgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—*T.*

this

this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival he presided at a council, where the princes of the different nations, and the several commanders, were placed according to the rank which Xerxes had given them. The prince of Sidon first, the prince of Tyre [59] next, and

[59] *Tyre.*]—In Isaiah, chapter xxiii. ver. 10. Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same chapter, ver. 12. Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, in book ii. chap. 44, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It has been conjectured by many learned men, that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Sampson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these amongst other reasons:

With the story of Sampson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a sea port belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Sampson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain corresponding circumstances in the actions of men, but there are certain particulars so striking, first in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus, and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitte to have some weight. The story of Sampson will account for the

and the reſt in order. The king then commiſſioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the prince of Sidon, and from him went to the reſt, and they

the two pillars ſet up in the temple of Hercules, if we conſider them as placed there in commemoration of the greateſt of Sampſon's exploits. The various circumſtances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however diſguiſed, are all reducible and relative to this laſt action of Sampſon. 1. Hercules, being apprehended by the Ægyptians, was led in proceſſion as a ſacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philiſtines proclaimed a feaſt to offer a great ſacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, becauſe Sampſon was delivered into their hands. 2. Whilſt Hercules ſtands at the altar, he remained quiet for a ſeaſon; and ſo was Sampſon when his ſtrength was departed from him. 3. But in a ſhort time Hercules returned to his ſtrength, and ſlew all the Ægyptians.—Concerning the ritual uſed in the worſhip of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practiſed elſewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not ſeem borrowed from the Levitical Law, or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Sampſon. The total diſuſe of images, the prohibition of ſwine in ſacrifice, the habit of the prieſt, his embroidered ſtole, &c. and naked feet, the ſtrict chaſtity exacted of him, the fire ever-burning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moſes delivered. Why may we not add that the excluſion of women from the temple, and the ſhaven head of the prieſts, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Dalilah, and to commemorate the loſs of Sampſon's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge theſe to have been Phœnician rites, and different from any obſerved amongſt the Greeks; and it is well known that this *ſingularity* was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moſes. —*T.*

were

were all of opinion that a battle ſhould be fought; but Artemiſia thus delivered her ſentiments: "Mardonius, deliver this my opinion to the king, "whoſe exertions in the battle of Eubœa were "neither the meaneſt nor the leaſt; I think myſelf "therefore juſtified in declaring what I think will "be moſt to your intereſt to purſue. I would "adviſe you to ſpare your ſhips, and not riſk a "battle. Theſe men by ſea are as much ſuperior "to yours, as men are to women: but after all, "what neceſſity is there for your hazarding an en-"gagement? You are already in poſſeſſion of "Athens, the avowed object of this expedition, "the reſt of Greece is already your own, and no "one reſiſts you. They who oppoſed you have "met the fate they merited. I will now tell you "how the affairs of your adverſaries are circum-"ſtanced: if you do not urge a naval engagement, "but will order your veſſels either to remain here, or "ſail to the Peloponneſe, all your wiſhes will infal-"libly be accompliſhed. The Greeks will not long "be able to oppoſe you; you will oblige them to "ſeparate, and retire to their reſpective homes. I "am well informed, that in the iſland where they "are they have no ſupply of proviſions; and if you "ſhall enter the Peloponneſe, it is not to be ſup-"poſed that theſe remaining here will riſk a battle "for the ſake of the Athenians. But if you de-"termine to fight them by ſea, I ſeriouſly fear that "a defeat of your fleet will be added to that of "your land forces. Let this alſo be impreſſed

"upon your mind, that the beſt of men have "ſometimes the worſt of ſervants; and that bad "men are frequently ſerved with fidelity. You, "O king, are one of the beſt of men; but you "have amongſt your dependants Ægyptians, Cy- "prians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians[60], from whom "no good can be expected."

LXIX.

[60] *Cilicians and Pamphylians.*]—However contemptuouſly theſe people may be here introduced, it is certain that Tarſus of Cilicia was accounted the metropolis of this part of Aſia, and was the firſt commercial power which made any figure in that part of the world. Not only the fables of Pagan mythology, which inform us that Anchiale was built by the daughter of Japetus, and Tarſus, by Perſeus, ſon of Jupiter, bear witneſs to the high antiquity of theſe cities; but Scripture alſo informs us, that the ſons of Tarſhiſh, who were ſettled on this coaſt, had made themſelves famous for their navigation and commerce as early as the days of David. The *ſhips of Tarſhiſh*, ſee Pſalm xlviii. 7, were then become a common appellation for all veſſels of trade; and *to go to Tarſhiſh*, a proverbial expreſſion for ſetting out to ſea in ſuch veſſels. That part of the Mediterranean which was contiguous to Cilicia was called the Sea of Tarſhiſh. Pamphylia was colonized from Cilicia, and was the entrance to it from the north-weſt. Strabo gives this character of the natives of Tarſus: "They did not ſtay at home," ſays he, "but in order to complete their education went abroad; and many of them, when thus accompliſhed, reſided with pleaſure in foreign parts, and never returned." When their neighbours on all ſides, both in Aſia and the adjacent iſlands, made themſelves infamous for their piratical depredations, the inhabitants of Tarſus maintained a fair reputation; they not only occupied their buſineſs in great waters, but they alſo traded on the continent. They had factories at Dedan and Sheba on the Euphrates, with which they trafficked in ſilver, &c.—*Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 10. All which incidents conſidered, I ſhould

LXIX. They who wiſhed well to Artemiſia were apprehenſive that her ſpeaking thus deciſively to Mardonius againſt riſking a battle, would bring upon her ſome mark of the king's indignation: her enemies, on the contrary, who wiſhed to ſee her diſgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of ſpeech would prove her ruin; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleaſed with that of Artemiſia; he had eſteemed her before, but he was on this occaſion laviſh in her praiſe. He neverthleſs determined to comply with the deciſion of the majority; and as he imputed the former ill ſucceſs at Eubœa to his being abſent, he reſolved to be a ſpectator of the battle of Salamis.

LXX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themſelves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then coming to an encounter, they prepared themſelves for the following day. In the mean while a general conſternation was impreſſed upon the Greeks, and in particular upon thoſe of the Peloponneſe, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was ſolely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occaſion their being blockaded in the iſland,

ſhould ſuppoſe that the cenſure of Artemiſia, paſſed upon them in this place, will hardly occaſion them to be conſidered either as a faithleſs or cowardly people.—*T.*

and

and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very ſame night the land forces of the Barbarians advanced to the Peloponneſe, though every poſſible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As ſoon as the Peloponneſians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they aſſembled at the iſthmus all the forces they could collect from their different cities under the conduct of Cleombrotus, the ſon of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their firſt care was to fortify the paſs of Sciron[61], they then, after conſulting on the ſubject, proceeded to defend the whole of the iſthmus by a wall. This was ſoon finiſhed, as not one of ſo many thouſands was inactive; for without intermiſſion, either by night or day, they ſeverally brought ſtones, bricks, timber, and bags of ſand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the iſthmus with their collected ſtrength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians univerſally, Eleans, Corinthians,

[61] *Sciron.*]—Said by Strabo to have been called from the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to paſſengers, and who was killed by Theſeus.—See Lucian in Jove Tragædo, where we learn that at the ſame time Theſeus deſtroyed two other famous robbers, whoſe names were Pityocamptes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the ſea, and his bones became rocks.—See *Ovid. Met.* vii. 443.—*T.*

Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians and Hermionians. All these were drawn together by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the Olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnese is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians[62] and Cynurians, are natives of the country, and have never changed their place of residence. The Achaians have never quitted the Peloponnese, but have simply removed from one situation to another. The

[62] *Arcadians.*]—Eustathius in Dion. v. 414, tells us that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for the richness of its pastures; and its inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms; and the Bucolic verse was stiled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.—See in *Arati Phæn. de Callistho.* Τεκειν Αρκτον ουσαν τον κληθεντα Αρκαδα. Homer says they were wholly ignorant of maritime affairs:

Επει ου σφι Θαλασσια εργα μεμηλει.

Which Pope imperfectly renders,

And new to all the dangers of the main.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs.*—*T.*

four

four others, namely the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated here. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians [63] Elis only; the Dryopians have Hermion and Afina, near Cardamyle [64], in Laconia. The Paroreatæ [65] are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are fuppofed to be Ionians; but in procefs of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and fubject to the Argives [66]. Of all thefe feven nations, thofe only

[63] *Ætolians.*]—There feems to be a doubt in this place whether it fhould be read Æolians or Ætolians. Æolus is faid by fome learned men to be Elifha, eldeft fon of Javan.—See the Genealogy. The name Elifha is explained by the Jewifh Rabbi to mean *ad infulam*; and Varro, as cited by Servius on the 1ft Æneid, gives the fame title to Æolus Hippotades, ftyling him *dominus infularum*. Lefbus was called Iffa, that is, I believe, the ifland.—See Hefychius in Ισση. Of the Ætolians, M. P. de Pauw, in his Preliminary Difcourfe to his Recherches Philofophiques fur les Grecs, gives a fhocking character. "On y parloit," fays the Frenchman, "à la verité la langue des Grecs, mais on y avoit les mœurs des Barbares, & tant d'atrocité dans le caractère, que l'on comparoit les Etoliens à des bêtes féroces cachées fous le mafque de l'homme, &c. —*T.*

[64] *Cardamyle.*]—Strabo fays this city was founded on a rock, επι πετρας; and Homer mentions it as one of the feven which Agamemnon promifed to give Achilles.—*T.*

[65] *Paroreatæ.*]—See book iv. c. 145, Oreatæ was the name of a city in the territories of Lacedæmon, which was afterwards called Bræfiæ or Prafiæ; concerning which confult Paufanias in Laconicis.—*T.*

[66] *Argives.*]—Euftathius fays, that Apis cleared the Peloponnefe of ferpents, and named it from himfelf Apia; he was deified,

only whom I have ſpecified attached themſelves to the cauſe of Greece; the others, if I may ſpeak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

LXXIV. They who were at the iſthmus exerted themſelves as if every thing depended upon them alone, not expecting any thing from the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not ſo much on their own account, as on that of the Peloponneſe. They began to murmur ſecretly amongſt each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybiades. They at length expreſſed their diſcontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called; a violent debate enſued, ſome were for ſailing inſtantly to the Peloponneſe, and riſking every thing for its defence, urging the abſurdity of ſtaying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with thoſe of Ægina and Megara, thought it moſt adviſeable to fight where they were.

deified, and thence called Serapis, a manifeſt alluſion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From theſe ſerpents Argos might receive its name, for αργαι was uſed as ſynonymous with οφις.—See *Heſychius*. The frog, which was the ſymbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction to them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the iſthmus, prevent a ſurprize, and be a conſtant garriſon to the Peloponneſe. It was an alluſion alſo, I believe, to their old name Leleges. Λαλαγες, ſays Heſychius, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponneſe, was a χελωνη, or tortoiſe, the ſymbol of a houſekeeper.—*T.*

LXXV.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnese, retired privately from the council: he immediately dispatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his children, whom Themistocles afterwards caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the Barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader[67], "who in reality is attached to the king, and who "wishes to see the Greeks in subjection to your "power, has sent me thus privately to you: a consternation has seized the Greeks, and they are "preparing to fly; an opportunity is now afforded "you of performing a splendid action, unless you "suffer it through negligence to escape you. They "are divided amongst themselves, and incapable of "farther resistance. You will soon see those who "favour, and who are inclined to oppose you, in "hostilities with each other." Having said this Sicinnus departed.

[67] *Athenian leader.*]—

Themistocles, who leads
Athenian squadrons, is the monarch's friend,
Approv'd by this intelligence; the Greeks
In consternation shortly will resolve
To separate and fly. Let Asia's fleet
Her numbers round in diligence extend,
Investing every passage; then confus'd
This whole confederated force of Greece
Will sooner yield than fight, and Xerxes close
At once so perilous a war. *Athenaid.*

LXXVI.

LXXVI. The Barbarians, confiding in this intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small island of Psittalia[68], betwixt Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis[69], meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Ceos and Cynosura[70], removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat, and that, thus inclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this: this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place; as therefore such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endeavour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and slay the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy, to accomplish which the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

68 *Psittalia.*]—Ψιτταλια. Non retulissem inter populos Atticos nisi Strabonis locus aliud suaderet. Itaque credendum illum aliquando fuisse habitatum.—*Jacobus Sponius de Pagis Atticis.*

69 *Advanced towards Salamis.*]—Larcher, in a very elaborate note, attempts to describe the situation of the two fleets with respect to each other in this memorable engagement; but the reader perhaps will have a better conception of it from the chart to be found in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, than from any thing Larcher has said, or that I can say.—*T.*

70 *Cynosura.*]—This was a promontory of Attica, opposite to the southern extremity of Eubœa; and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Laconia. Some critical remarks on the subsequent oracle may be found in Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Appendix N° 2.—*T.*

LXXVII. After reflecting upon this subject, the truth of the oracular prediction appears inconteftible; for who would attempt to contradict a declaration fo obvious as the following?

" On Dian's fhore, and Cynofura's coafts,
" When ev'ry ftrait is fill'd with naval hofts;
" When hoftile bands, infpir'd with frantic hope,
" In Athens give wide-wafting fury fcope.—
" Then fhall the youthful fon of daring Pride
" The vengeance of celeftial wrath abide,
" Fierce tho' he be, and confident of pow'r,
" For arms with arms fhall clafh, and blood fhall
" fhow'r
" O'er all the fea: while liberty and peace
" From Jove and Victory defcend to Greece."

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis, I fhall neither prefume to queftion the authority of oracles myfelf, nor patiently fuffer others to do fo.

LXXVIII. Difputes ftill continued to run high amongft the leaders at Salamis, who were not at all confcious of their being furrounded by the Barbarians. They prefumed that the enemy remained on the very fame poft in which they had obferved them during the day.

LXXIX. Whilft they were debating in council, Ariftides, fon of Lyfimachus, arrived at Ægina; he was an Athenian, and had been banifhed [71] by a vote

[71] *Banifhed.*]—Literally oftracifed. Every body knows that oftracifm was the banifhing a perfon by writing his name upon

vote of the people, although my information induces me to consider him as the most excellent[72] and upright of his fellow-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailing over every thing else, he called him out to confer with him: he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly when Themistocles appeared,

upon a shell, in Greek *Ostracon*. It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades, were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years; a similar mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called petalism, where the people wrote the name upon a leaf, *petalon*. By petalism, a man was banished for five years only.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason; the term they used was not φευγειν, but εξερχεσθαι.—*T.*

[72] *Most excellent.*]—Ælian gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Lamachus, Socrates, and Ephialtes. With respect to the dispute betwixt Themistocles and Aristides, the same authority informs us, that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. Plutarch says, that one amongst other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed betwixt them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger has obtained them everlasting glory.—*T.*

he spoke to him thus: "It would become us at "any time, and more particularly at the present, "to contend which of us can best serve our coun-"try[73]. I have to inform you, that whatever the "Peloponnesians may now urge with respect to "retiring to the isthmus can be of no signification; "I can assure you, from my own observation, that "the Corinthians, and Eurybiades himself, could "not now sail thither if they would; we are on "all sides surrounded by the enemy. Return there-"fore, and tell this to the assembly."

LXXX. "What you tell me," replied Themistocles, "I consider as particularly happy for us "all. The thing which I most ardently wished to "happen you have beheld: know then, that this "motion of the Medes is the consequence of my "measures, it appearing to me essential that those "Greeks who were reluctant to fight should be "compelled to do so; but as you come to tell us "what promises us so much good, tell it yourself. "If I shall inform the assembly of what you say, "I shall obtain no credit; nor will they suppose

[73] *Best serve our country.*]—

Dissentions past as puerile and vain
Now to forget, and nobly strive who best
Shall serve his country, Aristides warns
His ancient foe Themistocles. I hear
Thou giv'st the best of councils, which the Greeks
Reject through mean solicitude to fly.
Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
Is stationed, now preventing all escape. *Athenaid.*

"that the Barbarians are poſted as they are. Enter "therefore yourſelf, and inform them how things "are. If they believe you, it will be well; but if "not, the event will be the ſame. For if, as you "ſay, we are ſurrounded, there exiſts no opportu- "nity to retreat."

LXXXI. Ariſtides entering the council, repeated what he had before ſaid; that he was come from Ægina, and had paſſed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces; that the Grecian fleet was entirely ſurrounded, and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Ariſtides, as ſoon as he had ſpoken, retired. Freſh altercations now again aroſe amongſt the leaders, the greater part of whom refuſed to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. Whilſt they continued ſtill to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deſerted to them; they were commanded by Parætius, the ſon of Soſimenes, and their intelligence put the matter beyond all diſpute. In gratitude for this ſervice, the names of the Tenians were inſerted upon the tripod conſecrated at Delphi, amongſt thoſe who repelled the Barbarians. This veſſel, which joined them at Salamis [74], added to one of Lemnos, which before came

[74] *Salamis.*]—Attica was ſurrounded by iſlands, but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and uninhabited. Salamis is praiſed in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in honey and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, ſays De Pauw, ceaſe to intereſt

came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness.* Themistocles said every thing which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison betwixt great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ returned from Ægina, and soon afterwards all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move the Barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks lay upon their oars, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forwards and attacked the enemy; when he was so involved with his opponent, as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promis-

interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legislation of Solon, can never be forgotten.

To take a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus.—*T.*

cuous engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say, that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed that a female figure was visible to the Greeks, and that in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Insensate men, "how long will ye remain inactive on your "oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis[75] and the west; the Lacedæmonians combated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus[76] and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions; but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiæus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion

[75] *Eleusis.*]—So called from Eleusis son of Mercury.—See *Pausanias in Atticis, & Meursius Atticæ Lectiones*, l. iii. c. 20. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—*T.*

[76] *Piræus.*]—This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A Tract of J. Meursius, called Piræus, contains every thing relating to it and its antiquities.—*T.*

 performed

performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written, as deserving of the royal favour, and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the Barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salamis, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the Barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa, and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight [77] they imagined they fought.

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of Barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct however of Artemisia increased her favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by

[77] *In whose sight.*]—It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles; but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his Persæ of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—*Wood on Homer.*

an

an Athenian, and reduced to the extremeſt danger. In this perplexity, having before her many veſſels of her allies, and being herſelf the neareſt to the enemy, the following artifice ſucceeded [78]. As ſhe retreated from the Athenian, ſhe commenced an attack upon a ſhip of her own party; it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damaſithymus, the Calyndian prince. Whilſt they were in the Helleſpont, ſhe was involved in ſome diſpute with this man, but it is ſtill uncertain whether her conduct in the preſent inſtance was the effect of deſign, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming firſt in her way. This veſſel Artemiſia attacked and ſunk, by which ſhe obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander ſeeing the veſſel he purſued attack a Barbarian, ſuppoſed that it was either a Grecian ſhip, or one that had deſerted the Barbarians, and was now aſſiſting the Greeks: he was thus induced to direct his attack elſewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemiſia by this action not only avoided the impending danger, but alſo made herſelf more acceptable to the king at the time ſhe was doing him an actual injury. It is aſſerted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, obſerved her veſſel bearing down upon the other. At this period, ſome attendant remarked to him, "obſerve, Sir, "the proweſs of Artemiſia, ſhe has now ſent to the

78 *Artifice ſucceeded.*]—Polyænus informs us, that Artemiſia firſt ordered her Perſian enſign to be taken down; a circumſtance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the ſtory.—*Larcher.*

"bottom a veſſel of the enemy." The king was earneſt in his enquiry, whether the ſhip which attracted his attention was really that of Artemiſia. Thoſe about him, knowing exactly the figure which diſtinguiſhed her ſhip, aſſured him that it was: at the ſame time they had no doubt but the veſſel ſhe had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened amongſt the other fortunate occurrences which Artemiſia met with, that not a ſingle perſon of the Calyndian veſſel ſurvived to accuſe her. Xerxes is ſaid to have replied to what they told him: "The men have behaved like women, the women "like men[79]."

LXXXIX. In this battle, many perſonages of diſtinction fell, both of the Perſians, the Medes, and their confederates: amongſt others Ariabignes[80] was ſlain; he was the commander in chief, ſon of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loſs of the Greeks was but ſmall. As they were expert in ſwimming[81], they whoſe ſhips were deſtroyed, and who did not periſh by the ſword, made their eſcape to

[79] *The women like men.*]—Xerxes ſent a compleat ſuit of Grecian armour to Artemiſia, as a reward of her bravery; to the commander of his own fleet, a diſtaff and ſpindle.—*Polyænus.* This laſt does not ſeem to me probable, and the anſwer of Xerxes perhaps gave riſe to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly —*Larcher.*

[80] *Ariabignes.*]—Called Artabazanes, book vii. c. 2.

[81] *Swimming.*]—The art of ſwimming conſtituted a material part of youthful education amongſt the Greeks and Romans; if

to Salamis. Great numbers of the Barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremoſt ſhips were obliged to ſeek their ſafety by flight, a general deſtruction of the reſt enſued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give to the king, who viewed them, ſome teſtimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of thoſe veſſels which were retreating.

XC. During the confuſion, many Phœnicians who had loſt their ſhips went to the king, and informed him, that their diſgrace was occaſioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The conſequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not puniſhed with death, but the Phœnicians were. While they were yet ſpeaking, a Samothracian veſſel attacked one of Attica, and ſunk it; immediately afterwards, a ſhip of Ægina fell upon the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a ſimilar fate; but the Samothracians, who were ſkilful in the management of the ſpear, attacked as they were going down their adverſaries with ſo much ſucceſs, that they boarded and took the veſſel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes obſerving this ſpecimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger

if they intended to ſpeak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they ſaid he had neither learned to read nor to ſwim.

Savary informs us, that of the Ægyptians, men, women, and children, are remarkably expert, and he ſays graceful, in ſwimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to ſwim, all others ſwim naturally; in general we find that iſlanders, and all thoſe people whoſe country is interſected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are ſkilful in this manly exerciſe, whilſt thoſe living more inland are ignorant of it.—*T.*

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to the Phœnicians, and as he was beyond meaſure vexed and exaſperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded, as being puſillanimous themſelves, they had preſumed to accuſe men better than themſelves. The king, placed on mount Ægaleos [82], which is oppoſite to Salamis, was particularly obſervant of the battle, and when he ſaw any perſon eminently diſtinguiſh himſelf, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family and city; all which at his direction his ſcribes recorded. This execution of the Phœnicians was not a little forwarded by Ariaram-

[82] *Mount Ægaleos.*]—The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is ſeparated from Salamis by a very ſmall ſtrait. Aceſtodorus ſays it was from the hills called Cerata (The Horns) or the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, ſays Pauſanias, at Salamis, which ſtretches itſelf as far as Megara; thus Mount Ægaleos was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher.*

Æſchylus in the Perſæ contents himſelf with ſaying, that Xerxes was a ſpectator of the engagement, without ſaying from what place:

Εδραν γαρ ειχε παντος ευαυγη στρατου
Υψηλον οχθον αγχι πελαγιας αλος.

He had a ſeat from which he could eaſily diſcern all his forces, a lofty mound *near the ſea*; from which it ſhould ſeem to have been ſome artificial tumulus. The Scholiaſt to the paſſage of Æſchylus refers the reader to the place before us in Herodotus. Pliny calls it Mount Ægialos.—*T.*

Xerxes, who enthron'd
High on Ægaleos anxious fate to view
A ſcene which nature never yet diſplay'd,
Nor fancy feign'd. The theatre was Greece,
Mankind ſpectators, equal to that ſtage,
Themiſtocles, great actor. *Athenaid.*

nes,

nes, a Perſian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then preſent.

XCI. In this diſaſter were the Phœnicians involved; the Barbarians retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum; the Æginetæ however guarding this neck of ſea performed what well deſerves mention. The Athenians in the tumult of the fight overpowered thoſe who reſiſted, and preſſed upon thoſe who fled. Theſe laſt the Æginetæ attacked, ſo that many which eſcaped from the Athenians were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themiſtocles was engaged in the purſuit of a flying enemy, he came up with a veſſel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, ſon of Crios, which was then attacking a veſſel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ſhip which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the ſon of Iſchenus, in a veſſel of Ægina ſent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man almoſt expiring from his wounds the Perſians with great tenderneſs had preſerved on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian veſſel with the Perſians on board was taken, Pytheas was reſtored in ſafety to his country. Polycritus obſerving the Athenian veſſel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander in chief, called out in a reproachful manner * to Themiſtocles, and

* *In a reproachful manner.*]—The Athenians had accuſed the Æginetæ, and particularly Crius the father of this man, of deſigning to betray their country to the Medes.—See book vi. chap. 49. To this unjuſt accuſation Polycritus alluded in this ſarcaſm.—*T.*

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bade him obſerve how the Æginetæ ſhewed their attachment to the Medes; at the ſame time he ruſhed on the Sidonian.

XCIII. The Barbarians, whoſe ſhips remained, fled to Phalerum, and joined the land forces. On this day, they who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt were the people of Ægina, next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polycritus was moſt eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallene [83]. This laſt was the perſon who purſued Artemiſia, and who would not have deſiſted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himſelf, if he had conceived her to have been on board the veſſel which he chaſed. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with reſpect to her, and a reward of ten thouſand drachmæ was offered to whoever ſhould take her alive; it being thought a moſt diſgraceful circumſtance that a woman ſhould fight againſt Athens. She however eſcaped as we have before deſcribed, as alſo did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm [84] of Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement

83 *Aminias of Pallene.*]—He was brother to the great poet Æſchylus.

84 *The Athenians affirm.*]—Dion Chryſoſtom relates, that our hiſtorian not having received the compenſation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praiſe, was induced to miſrepreſent their conduct,

mencement of the fight he was seized with a pa and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras[85], not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent by the gods: who actually sent it could never be discovered; it approached however the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went, and when at a certain distance some one on board exclaimed: "Adimantus, by thus flying with the ships under "your command, you must be considered as the "betrayer of Greece: the Greeks however are victorious over their enemies to the utmost of their "hopes." Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little

conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. Plutarch pretends that Herodotus from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by Dion Chrysostom were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. Plutarch with some reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of Simonides, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if Herodotus had felt the motives imputed to him by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of Universal Greece.—*Larcher.*

[85] *Minerva Sciras.*]—Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero. Minerva was honoured by this name in that island, whence came the sacrifice called at Athens the Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion.—*Larcher.*

bark,

bark, that they would agree to ſuffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus therefore with his detachment made haſte to rejoin the Greeks, but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact, declaring that no nation was more diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion than themſelves; and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

XCV. Ariſtides the Athenian, ſon of Lyſimachus, of whoſe integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis rendered his country this ſervice: taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found ſtationed along the ſhore of Salamis, he landed on the iſland of Pſittaleia, and put every Perſian whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement, the Greeks collected all their damaged veſſels at Salamis[86], and prepared for another battle, preſuming that the

[86] *Salamis.*]—Amongſt other rejoicings which celebrated the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles. Sophocles, who had a very fine perſon, was alſo accompliſhed in the arts of muſic and dancing, which when very young he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some ſay that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oil; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of Thamyris, he played on the Citharis; and when his Nauſicaa was performed, he diſcovered great activity in leaping with the ball—*εσφαιρισεν*. —*T.*

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king would renew the fight with all the veſſels he had left. At the ſame time a wind from the weſt had driven on that part of the coaſt of Attica, which is called Colias, many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle at Bacis and Muſæus were minutely accompliſhed, as was alſo the prediction of the Athenian Lyſiſtratus, made many years before concerning theſe wrecks. It had long eluded the ſagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:

"The Colian dames with oars ſhall roaſt their
"food [87]."

The above happened after the king's departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes knew how ſeverely he had ſuffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themſelves they might be diſpoſed to ſail to the Helleſpont and break down the bridge, determined to ſeek his ſafety by flight. Deſirous however of not being ſuſpected in his deſign, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent, joining for this purpoſe the Phœnician tranſports together, to ſerve both as a bridge and a wall. He then made ſeeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking theſe meaſures cauſed it to be generally believed that he intended

[87] *Roaſt their food.*]—This paſſage has greatly perplexed the commentators; in the Greek it is ερετμοισι φριξεσι, ſhall rage at the oars. Kuhnius reads φρυξεσι, which both Weſſeling and Valcnaer approve.—*T.*

to

to continue where he was and proſecute hoſtilities. His real purpoſe did not eſcape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. Whilſt Xerxes was thus employed, he ſent a meſſenger to Perſia with intelligence of his defeat[88].

XCVIII. The Perſian meſſengers travel with a velocity which nothing human[89] can equal. It is thus

[88] *Defeat.*]—"I have been told by a Mede," ſays Dion Chryſoſtom, "that the Perſians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and ſlew their king; that he made himſelf maſter of Athens, totally deſtroying it, and reducing all thoſe Athenians to ſlavery who did not eſcape by flight; and that finally he returned to Aſia, after having impoſed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is falſe; but it is not impoſſible, indeed it is very probable, that the king ſaid this to the Aſiatic nations," &c.—*Larcher.*

[89] *Nothing human.*]—Θνητον εον.—Valcnaer does not approve this reading. Surely, ſays he, the domeſtic pigeons, which we know were uſed for the purpoſe of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faſter. He therefore propoſes to read ανδρηϊον or ανθρωπηϊον, human. Larcher replies to this, by ſaying, "that it is not probable that pigeons were uſed in the great roads where public poſts were eſtabliſhed, but rather in routs difficult of acceſs for horſes." This obſervation has no great weight; it is more to the purpoſe that he refers the reader to an expreſſion of Herodotus, in the firſt book, where he calls the horſe, παντων των θνητων το ταχιστον. I nevertheleſs prefer the conjecture of Valcnaer.

The regularity and ſwiftneſs of the Roman poſts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively conſider the ſubject; they are thus excellently deſcribed by Gibbon:

"The advantage of receiving the earlieſt intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to eſtabliſh, throughout their extenſive dominions, the regular inſtitution

thus accomplished: as many days as are required to go from one place to another, so many men and horses are regularly stationed along the road, allowing a man and a horse for each day: neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed. The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about amongst the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call Angareïon.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals; but the intelligence of the second messenger excited universal sorrow; they tore

institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote: "In the time of Theodosius, Cesarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles."—See also *Libanius, Orat.* 22, and the *Itineraria*, p. 572—581.

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans.—*T.*

their cloaths[90], wept and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet, as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at sea greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began therefore to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it therefore preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, Sir," said he, "have you "much afflict yourself concerning what has hap- "pened, nor suppose that your reputation has suf- "tained from it any considerable wound. The "ultimate success of our attempts does not de- "pend[91] on ships, but on our troops and horses. "They,

[90] *Tore their cloaths.*]—This was a custom of the Orientals, of which various examples occur in Scripture.—See also the Persæ of Æschylus, 53. &c.—*Larcher.*

[91] *Does not depend.*]—The following paraphrase on this speech of Mardonius by Mr. Glover, is one of the best passages in his poem:

Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!
Not oars, not sails, and timber can decide
Thy

" They, who from their late advantages, ſuppoſe " all conteſt at an end, will not preſume to leave " their veſſels to oppoſe you, nor will the Greeks " on the continent dare to meet you in the field. " They who did ſo, ſuffered. With your permiſſion, " therefore, our future exertions ſhall be made in " the Peloponneſe; or if you pleaſe for a while to " ſuſpend your activity, it may ſecurely be done: be " not however diſheartened, it is not poſſible that " the Greeks ſhould be finally able to elude the " vengeance due to them, or to avoid being made " your ſlaves. What I have recommended, you " will find to merit your attention; but if you are " determined to return with your army, I have " other advice to offer. Suffer not, O king, the " Perſians to become the ridicule of the Greeks; " you will not find us to have been the inſtruments " of your loſſes; you have never ſeen us cowardly " or baſe. If the Phœnicians, Ægyptians, Cy- " prians, or Cilicians have behaved themſelves ill, " it ought not to be imputed to us: if the Perſians " therefore have not merited your cenſure, vouch- " ſafe to liſten to my counſel; if you ſhall not " think proper to continue with us yourſelf, return

Thy enterprize ſublime. In ſhifting ſtrife,
By winds and billows governed, may contend
The ſons of traffic; on the ſolid plain
The generous ſteed and ſoldier; they alone
Thy glory muſt eſtabliſh, where no ſwell
Of fickle floods, nor breath of caſual gales
Aſſiſt the ſkilful coward, and controul
By nature's wanton but reſiſtleſs might
The brave man's arm, &c. *Athenaid.*

"to your country, and take with you the majority "of your forces. Leave me here three hundred "thousand chosen men, and I doubt not but I shall "reduce Greece to your obedience."

CI. Xerxes, on hearing this, found his vexation suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told Mardonius, that after taking advice on the subject he would give him an answer. Having consulted with some Persians whom he assembled, he determined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom he had before had reason to approve. On her arrival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to retire, whilst he thus addressed her: "Mardonius "advises me to continue here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnese, urging that my Persians and land forces have not been at all accessary to the injuries we have sustained, of which "they desire to give me future testimony. If I "should disapprove of this, he himself engages, "with three hundred thousand troops, to stay and "reduce Greece to my power, recommending me "to retire with the rest of the army to my native "country. Do you therefore, who with so much "wisdom endeavoured to dissuade me from risking "an engagement at sea, tell me which of these "measures you would have me pursue?"

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the following purport: "In a situation like the present, "O king, it is not easy to say what measures will be "best; but as far as I am able to discern, I would "recommend

" recommend your return. Let Mardonius re-
" main here with the number of forces he re-
" quires, as it is his own voluntary propofal with
" thefe to effect the accomplifhment of your
" wifhes. If he fhall fubjugate the country, and
" effect what he promifes, the glory will be yours [92],
" for your troops muft be his inftruments; if he
" fhould be difappointed and vanquifhed, while
" you are fafe, and your family and fortunes fecure,
" no great calamity can enfue. The Greeks, as
" long as you fhall furvive, and your family re-
" main, muft be involved in many contefts. If
" Mardonius fhall fail in his attempts, and perifh,
" the Greeks will have no great advantage to boaft
" from the misfortunes or death of one of your
" flaves. You have burned Athens, which was
" the propofed object of your expedition, and may
" therefore return without difhonour."

[92] *The glory will be yours.*]—Thus in fubfequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the fuccefsful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. "Under the commonwealth," fays Mr. Gibbon, "a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the aufpices in the name of the people. By an exact confequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was referved to the emperor; and his moft fuccefsful lieutenants were fatisfied with fome marks of diftinction, which under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour." Speaking of the emperors lieutenants, in another place, he fays, "they received and held their commiffions at the will of a fuperior, to whofe aufpicious influence the merits of their action was legally attributed."—*T.*

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice ſo conſonant to the ſecret wiſhes of his heart: for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was ſo great, that no perſuaſions could have prevailed on him to ſtay. Artemiſia was diſmiſſed moſt graciouſly from his preſence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Epheſus, for ſome of the king's natural ſons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus a favourite eunuch of the king, and a Pedaſian by birth, was ſent to take care of them. The Pedaſians [93] inhabit the diſtrict beyond Halicarnaſſus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the prieſteſs of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice amongſt them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himſelf on account of the injury he had formerly ſuſtained, with a ſeverity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and ſold as a ſlave to a man of Chios [94], named Panionius, who maintained

93 *The Pedaſians, &c.*]—See book i. chap. 175. Valcnaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is ſpurious. It certainly has no buſineſs here, and if eſſential at all, would have more properly appeared in book vi. chapter 20. The ſtrongeſt argument againſt its being genuine is, that Strabo ſeems to have known nothing of it; ſpeaking as if he had only ſeen the paſſage in the firſt book to which I have referred the reader.—*T.*

94 *Chios.*]—Chios, and the iſlands in its vicinity, were famous for

tained himſelf by the moſt infamous of all traffic: whenever he met with any youths whoſe perſons were handſome, he caſtrated them, and carrying them

for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Perſia, ſent for materials to clothe himſelf and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura called in Maccabees, chap. iv. verſe 23, the purple of the ſea.

"Then Judas returned to ſpoil the tents, where they got much gold and ſilver, and blue ſilk, *and purple of the ſea*, and great riches."

See alſo Ezekiel, chapter xxvii. where the prophet, enumerating the merchandize of Tyre, ſays, verſe 7. "Blue and purple from the iſles of Eliſhah was that which covered thee." By the iſles of Eliſhah, I conceive the prophet to mean Leſbos, Tenedos, and the ſmall iſlands near them. There were ſeveral ſpecies of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were moſt valued.—See *Pliny*, l. ix. c. 33. From theſe two ſeparately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple moſt eſteemed by the ancients. One was called πορφυρις, of a ſtrong violet colour inclining to black; a ſecond was called φοινικις, inclining to ſcarlet; a third αλουργις, azure or ſky blue. Athenæus ſays, l. iii. c. 12, that the beſt and largeſt were found about Leſbos and the promontory of Lectus.

"By the diſcovery of cochineal," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "we far ſurpaſs the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a ſtrong ſmell and a dark caſt, as deep as bull's blood. In Rome, this was reſtrained to the ſacred perſon and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treaſon were denounced againſt the ambitious ſubjects who dared to uſurp the prerogative of the throne." —See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. 71. Statius in the following paſſage ſeems to diſtinguiſh betwixt the deep and the blueiſh purple:

Quis purpura ſæpe
Œbalis et Tyrii moderator livet aheni. *Syl.* i. 2. 150.

The beſt, or the Pelagia, were ſo called, becauſe found in deeper waters.—See the *Schol. to Apollonius Rhodius*, l. i. v. 461.

them to Sardis or Ephesus, disposed of them at a a prodigious price. Amongst the Barbarians, eunuchs [95] are esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many whom Panionius had thus treated. Hermotimus however could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one amongst other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some busi-

Εν βαθει της θαλασσης ευρισκεται. From this peculiarity of the purpura, the verb πορφυρεσκω was used for to meditate *profoundly*. —*T*.

95 *Eunuchs.*]—Eunuchs were introduced in the courts of princes and the families of great men at a very early period, and of course became an important article of commerce. Black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah.—See Jeremiah, xxxviii. 7.

"Now when Ebed-Melech, the Æthiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon, &c."

Black eunuchs are still an article of great luxury in the east, and seldom found but in the seraglio of the Grand Signior, and those of the Sultanas. See Memoirs of Baron Tott, who represents their manners as always harsh and brutal.—See also *Harmer*, vol. iii. 328.

Eunuchs are found in the catalogue of eastern commodities, which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were made subject to the payment of duties; and Mr. Gibbon observes, that the use and value of these effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.—*T*.

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neſs to a place in Myſia, called Atarneus, inhabited by ſome Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addreſſed him with much ſeeming kindneſs; he firſt enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to aſſure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he ſhould receive the moſt convincing teſtimony of his gratitude. Panionius liſtened to the offer with great delight, and ſoon went to Hermotimus, with his wife and children. When the eunuch had got them in his power, he thus addreſſed Panionius: "The means by which you "obtain a livelihood is the moſt infamous that can "be conceived. How could I, or any of my an-"ceſtors, ſo have injured you or your family as to "juſtify your reducing me from manhood to my "preſent contemptible ſtate? Could you imagine "that your crimes would eſcape the obſervation "of the gods, who inſpiring me with the fallacy I "practiſed, have thus delivered you into my "hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have "no reaſon to complain of the vengeance which I "mean to inflict on you." After theſe reproaches, he produced the four ſons of Panionius, and obliged the father to caſtrate them himſelf; when this was done, he compelled the ſons to do the ſame to their father. Such was [96] the puniſhment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

[96] *Such was.*]—

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit
Vulnera quæ fecit debuit ipſe pati.

Ovid. Amor. l. ii. e. 3.

CVII.

CVII. Xerxes having ſent his children to Epheſus, under the care of Artemiſia, commiſſioned Mardonius to ſelect from the army the number that he wiſhed, and deſired him to make his deeds correſpond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum, towards the Helleſpont, with the greateſt expedition, to protect the bridge and ſecure his paſſage. The Barbarians ſet ſail, but when they approached Zoſter, miſtaking the little promontories which riſe above that coaſt for ſhips, they fled a great way. Diſcovering their error, they afterwards formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiving the land forces of the enemy on their former poſt, ſuppoſed their fleet to be ſtill at Phalerum, and prepared for a ſecond engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a purſuit with the greateſt eagerneſs. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to diſcover them, they went on ſhore on the iſland to hold a conſultation. Themiſtocles was of opinion that they ſhould ſail through the midſt of the iſlands, continuing their purſuit, and endeavour to reach the Helleſpont, and deſtroy the bridge. This was oppoſed by Eurybiades, who thought that the meaſure of breaking down the bridge would not fail to involve Greece in the greateſt calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Perſian was compelled to ſtay in Europe he would remain inactive; if he did, his army

army would be in danger of ſuffering from famine, unable either to return to Aſia, or advance his affairs; but if he ſhould be earneſt in the proſecution of any enterprize, he would have great probability of ſucceſs, as it was much to be feared, that moſt of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or ſurrender previouſly to his arms; beſides this, he would have a conſtant ſupply of corn from the annual produce of Greece: as therefore it was not likely that the Perſian, after his late naval defeat, would wiſh to ſtay in Europe, it was better that his eſcape to his own country ſhould be permitted. Here, he added, it will be afterwards adviſeable to proſecute hoſtilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponneſe acquieſced.

CIX. Themiſtocles ſeeing his advice to ſail immediately to the Helleſpont overruled by the majority, addreſſed himſelf next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exaſperated by the eſcape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the purſuit to the Helleſpont, even if unſupported by the reſt of the allies. He ſpoke to them as follows: "I have myſelf been witneſs of ſimilar "incidents, and I have frequently heard it affirmed "by others, that men reduced to the extremeſt ebb "of fortune have by ſome ſucceeding efforts retrieved their affairs, and made amends for their "former want of vigour. We Athenians have "enjoyed this favourable viciſſitude; but although "we have thus happily defended ourſelves and our

"country,

"country, and have repulsed such an host of foes, "we refrain from the pursuit of a flying enemy; "not that we must impute our success to our own "exertions; we must thank the gods and the "heroes who would not suffer an individual mark-"ed by his impiety and crimes to be the tyrant of "Asia and of Europe; a man who made no dis-"crimination betwixt things sacred and profane; "who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods; "who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw "chains into its bosom. To us the present moment "is auspicious, let us therefore attend to the interest "of ourselves and families; and as the Barbarian "is effectually expelled, let us severally repair our "dwellings, and cultivate our lands. In the spring "we will sail to Ionia and the Hellespont." By this conduct, Themistocles intended to conciliate the friendship of the Persian, that in case of his becoming unpopular with his countrymen he might be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved his sagacity [97].

[97] *The event.*]—It is a singular circumstance which I do not remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.—See Horace:

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, &c.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia was in the habit of an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter, by which means he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen. —*T.*

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themiſtocles, aſſented to his propoſal; they had before thought highly of his wiſdom, and the preſent inſtance of his prudence and diſcretion induced their readier compliance with his wiſhes. The Athenians had no ſooner agreed in form to what he recommended, than he diſpatched a bark with confidential ſervants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on even by torture to reveal what was entruſted to them: amongſt theſe was the ſlave Sicinnus [98]. On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their veſſel, and haſtened to the king, whom he thus addreſſed: "Themiſtocles, ſon of Neocles, and leader of the "Athenians, of all the confederates the moſt wiſe "and the moſt valiant, has ſent me to inform you, that "willing to render you kindneſs, he has prevented "the Greeks from purſuing you to the Helleſpont, "when it was their inclination to do ſo [99], in order

[98] *Sicinnus.*]—Plutarch ſays it was one of the king's eunuchs, found amongſt the priſoners, named Arraces. But as Larcher juſtly remarks, Themiſtocles was much too wiſe to ſend a perſon of this deſcription, who, if poſſeſſed of the ſmalleſt ſagacity, could have forewarned Xerxes of the artifice of the Athenian commander.—*T.*

[99] *Inclination to do ſo.*]—Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themiſtocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had reſolved to ſail to the Helleſpont, and break down their bridge; but that Themiſtocles, zealous to preſerve him, urged him to haſten to that ſea, and paſs over to Aſia. In the mean time he raiſed perplexities and embarraſſments amongſt the allies, which retarded their purſuit.—*Larcher.*

"that

"that they might break down your bridge; you "may now, therefore, retire there in ſecurity." Saying this Sicinnus returned.

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to purſue the Barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Helleſpont, laid cloſe ſiege to Andros, and determined totally to deſtroy it. Theſe were the firſt of the iſlanders who had refuſed the ſollicitation of Themiſtocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, perſuaſion and neceſſity, who could not poſſibly be refuſed. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reaſonably expect to be great and proſperous from the protection of ſuch powerful deities, but that their iſland was of itſelf poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, poverty and weakneſs; that they, therefore, could not be expected to ſupply them with money: the ſtrength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakneſs. In conſequence of this refuſal and reply they were now beſieged.

CXII. In the mean while the avarice of Themiſtocles appeared to be inſatiable. He made applications to all the other iſlands alſo for money, uſing the ſame emiſſaries and language as before to the Andrians. In caſe of refuſal, he threatened to bring againſt them the forces of Greece, and utterly deſtroy them. He by theſe means obtained from the Caryſtians and Parians an enormous ſum of mo-

 ney.

ney. These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed, on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take upon me to decide, but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity, whilst the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continuing on their former station, a few days after the battle of Salamis moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any farther military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnese on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader Hydarnes, who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the Cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse: to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From

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the reſt of the allies he ſelected only thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their advantages of perſon, or who had performed ſome remarkable exploit. He took alſo the greater part of thoſe Perſians who wore collars and bracelets *; and next to theſe the Medes, inferior to the Perſians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of theſe troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thouſand men.

CXIV. Whilſt Mardonius was employed in ſelecting his army, and Xerxes was ſtill in Theſſaly, an oracle was addreſſed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compenſation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he ſhould offer. A meſſenger was inſtantly diſpatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was ſtill in Theſſaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addreſſed him: "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and "Heraclidæ of Sparta [100], claim of you a compen-"ſation for the death of their king, whom you ſlew "whilſt he was defending Greece." The king laughed at this, and for ſome time returned no anſwer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who ſtood near him, "This man," ſays he, "ſhall make "you a becoming retribution." The herald receiving this anſwer departed.

[100] *Heraclidæ of Sparta.*]—Herodotus expreſſes himſelf thus, to diſtinguiſh the kings of Lacedæmon from thoſe of Argos and Macedonia, who alſo were Heraclidæ, that is to ſay, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher.*

* *Collars and bracelets.*]—As marks of royal favour, and rewards for ſervice. See an account of the royal gifts of Perſia, in a note on the firſt book.

CXV.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Theſſaly, haſtened towards the Helleſpont. Within the ſpace of forty-five days he arrived at the place of paſſage with a very inconſiderable number of troops. But wherever theſe troops came, without any diſtinction, they conſumed all the corn of the inhabitants, and when this failed, they fed upon the natural produce of the earth, ſtripping wild and cultivated trees alike of their bark and leaves, to ſuch extremity of famine were they come. To this a peſtilence ſucceeded, which with the dyſentery deſtroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes diſtributed his ſick through the cities as he paſſed, recommending the care and maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were left in Theſſaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others in Macedonia. At this laſt place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the ſacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes enquired for it again, they told him that the mares, whilſt feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the ſource of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the king of Biſaltica and Creſtonia, a Thracian, did a moſt unnatural action. Refuſing to ſubmit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of mount Rhodope, and had commanded his ſons not to ſerve againſt Greece. They, either deſpiſing their father, or curious to ſee the war, had joined the Perſian army. There were ſix of them, and they all returned ſafe, but their father ordered

their eyes to be put out; ſuch was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Perſians, leaving Thrace, came to the paſſage, where they eagerly crowded into their veſſels to croſs to Abydos. The bridge of veſſels was no more, a tempeſt had broken and diſperſed it. Here meeting with proviſions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themſelves ſo intemperately, that this, added to the change of water, deſtroyed a great number of thoſe who remained; the reſt with Xerxes arrived at Sardis[101].

CXVIII. There is alſo another ſtory.—It is ſaid that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Eïon, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land, but entruſting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Helleſpont, he went on board a Phœnician veſſel to croſs over into Aſia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempeſtuous wind ſet in from the lake, which on account of the great num-

[101] Mr. Richardſon, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invaſion of Greece, finally expreſſes himſelf in theſe ſtrong terms.

"To ſum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the moſt moderate ſcale of the Greek writers, ſeems to be inconſiſtent with probability and the ordinary power of man.—It is all upon ſtilts; every ſtep we take is upon romantic ground: nothing ſeems wanting but a few genii, to make it in every reſpect an exceeding good Arabian tale."—*Diſſertations*, 8vo. 316.

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ber of Persians on board, attendant upon Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, enquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe? "By no means," was the answer, "unless we "could be rid of some of this multitude." Upon this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see "which of you has an affection for his prince; my "safety it seems depends on you." As soon as he had spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea [102]. The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore, he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish, he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit for many reasons, but particularly from this catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose, that the king would have

[102] *Leaped into the sea.*]—An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the Second, when duke of York. He was, by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down and perished.—*T.*

ordered his attendants, who were not only Perſians, but men of the higheſt rank, to deſcend into the hold of the ſhip, and would have thrown into the ſea as many Phœnician rowers as there were Perſians on board. But the truth is, that the king, with the reſidue of his army, returned towards Aſia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet ſtronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Aſia, came to Abdera, with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendſhip, preſenting them with a golden ſcimitar, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites aſſert what does not to me appear probable, that with them, Xerxes, for the firſt time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his robes, as being not till then releaſed from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Helleſpont than Strymon and Eïon, where it is ſaid he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not ſucceeding in their attempts upon Andros, attacked Caryſtus, and after waſting its lands returned to Salamis. Here their firſt care was to ſet apart as ſacred to the gods the firſt fruits of their ſucceſs, amongſt which were three Phœnician triremes. One of theſe was depoſited upon the iſthmus, where it continued within my memory; a ſecond was placed at Sunium; the third was conſecrated to Ajax, and reſerved at Salamis. They then proceeded to a diviſion of the plunder, ſending the choiceſt to Delphi. Here a

ſtatue

ſtatue was erected twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ſhip[103]: it was placed on the ſame ſpot where ſtands a ſtatue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After theſe offerings had been preſented at Delphi, it was enquired publickly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received was perfect and ſatisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ, from whom he claimed a farther mark of their gratitude, as they had principally been diſtinguiſhed at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, conſecrated to the divinity three golden ſtars, which were fixed upon a brazen maſt, in the angle near the ciſtern of Crœſus.

CXXIII. After the diviſion of the plunder, the Greeks ſailed to the iſthmus, to confer the reward of valour upon him who ſhould be judged to have been moſt diſtinguiſhed during the war. On their arrival here, the Grecian leaders ſeverally inſcribed their opinions, which they depoſited upon the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the firſt, and whom the ſecond in merit: each individual inſcribed his own name, as claiming

103 *Beak of a ſhip.*]—The firſt naval triumph at Rome was commemorated in a ſimilar manner. A pyramid, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, compoſed of the beaks of ſhips taken from the enemy.—*T.*

the firft reward; but a great majority of them united in declaring Themiftocles deferving the fecond. Whilft each, therefore, had only his own fuffrage for the firft, Themiftocles had the fecond place awarded him, by a great majority.

CXXIV. Whilft the Greeks feverally returned to their homes, avoiding from envy to decide the queftion for which they had purpofely affembled, Themiftocles was not only efteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the firft in fagacity and wifdom. Not having been honoured by thofe with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpofe to Lacedæmon: here he was fplendidly entertained [104], and honourably diftinguifhed. The prize of perfonal prowefs was affigned to Eurybiades; but that of wifdom and fkill to Themiftocles, and each was prefented with an olive crown. To the latter they alfo gave the handfomeft chariot in Sparta; they heaped praifes upon him, and when he returned, three hundred chofen Spartans, of thofe who are called the knights [105], were appointed to attend him as

[104] *Splendidly entertained.*]—This was the more remarkable, and muft have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themiftocles was held, as it was contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were fometimes known to be ten thoufand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hofpitality and attention, ftrangers were difcouraged from vifiting Sparta, and if ever they ventured there, were confidered as fpies.—*T.*

[105] *The knights.*]—The Greek word is ἱππεῖς; it neverthe-
lefs

as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, imputed to him his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon, were not bestowed out of respect to him, but to Athens. Whilst he was continuing his invectives, "Friend," says Themistocles, "the matter is thus; if I had been a Belbinite[106], I should not have been thus distinguished at Sparta, nor would you, although an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation amongst his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia,

less may fairly be doubted whether they served on horseback, or whether it was not a term of honour only. It is certain the country of Lacedæmon was ill adapted for cavalry; that Xenophon calls the few they had, πονηροτατοι; and that none but those who were wealthy possessed horses. See Larcher's elaborate note at this word.—*T.*

106 *Belbinite.*]—In the beginning of the chapter, Herodotus tells us that this man was of Aphidnæ.—Wesseling thinks, that he might nevertheless be a Belbinite, though, when made a citizen of Athens, he was enrolled in the tribe of Aphidnæ.—*T.*

Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene. Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the Barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulph of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The goverment of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenus, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands. In what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say, I can only speak of the event. Whenever they wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was fixed to an arrow, and made to serve as wings, which was then shot to a place agreed upon. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow

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to the concerted place, but it deviated from its direction, and wounded a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallenian allies were present. The letter was read, and the traitor discovered: it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The Barbarians seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two-fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation, that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could, were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain.—The Barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs, who may therefore be considered as the author of their calamity,

which to me appears probable. With the few who eſcaped, Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Theſſaly, and this was the fate of thoſe who conducted Xerxes to the Helleſpont.

CXXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which flying from Salamis, arrived in Aſia, after paſſing over the king and his forces from the Cherſoneſe to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the ſpring it aſſembled at Samos, where ſome other veſſels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by Perſians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the ſon of Bagæus, and Artayntes, ſon of Artachæus, whoſe uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet ſubſided, they did not attempt to advance farther weſtward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do ſo. Their veſſels, with thoſe of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred, and they ſtationed themſelves at Samos, to ſecure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be ſatisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion, as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to [illegible]e them, but were content to retire alſo t[illegible]es. With reſpect to their affairs at ſea, the Perſians were ſufficiently depreſſed; but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on their ſtation at Samos,

Samos, they conſulted how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiouſly attended to the progreſs and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the ſpring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Theſſaly, rouſed the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together, but their fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and ten ſhips, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was deſcended in a right line from Menares, Ageſilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charilus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Ariſtodemus, Ariſtomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and laſtly from Hercules. He was of the ſecond royal family, and all his anceſtors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, ſon of Ariphron.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the ſame individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the aſſiſtance of that people to deliver Ionia, arrived amongſt the Greeks. Herodotus, the ſon of Baſilides, was with them; they were in all ſeven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having been diſcovered by one of the accomplices, the other ſix had withdrawn themſelves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina to perſuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they w[illegible] in-

a[illegible]ed,

duced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this the Greeks viewed as full of danger, as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous: Samos they considered as not less remote than the pillars of Hercules. Thus the Barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos, and the Greeks, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. Whilst the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send an European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose, that he only intended to consult them on his present affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius; he went also to the oracle of Abas in Phocis; he then proceeded to Thebes, where, with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Ismenian Apollo; afterwards

wards he obtained permiſſion by his gold, of ſome ſtranger, but not of a Theban, to ſleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is here permitted to conſult the oracle; for when Amphiaraus had formerly ſubmitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to ſleep in his temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys the European having viſited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous. This, though ſo called, belongs to the Thebans; it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia [107]. When this Mys arrived here, he was attended by three perſons of the place, appointed for the expreſs purpoſe of writing down the anſwer of the oracle. The prieſteſs immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language [108], which filled thoſe who were preſent, and who expected the anſwer to be given in Greek, with aſtoniſhment. Whilſt his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys ſnatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the prieſteſs, which, as afterwards appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this he returned to Theſſaly.

107 *Acræphia.*]—From this place Apollo had the name of Acræphius.—*T.*

108 *Barbarous language.*]—See chapter 18.

CXXXVI.

CXXXVI. As ſoon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius, he ſent Alexander the Macedonian, ſon of Amyntas, ambaſſador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Perſians by ties of conſanguinity. Bubares, a Perſian, had married Gygæa, ſiſter of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas: by her he had a ſon, who after his grandfather, by the mother's ſide, was called alſo Amyntas, to whom the king had preſented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was farther influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of a munificent and hoſpitable ſpirit. For theſe reaſons he deemed him the moſt likely to conciliate the Athenians, who were repreſented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who he underſtood had principally contributed to the defeats which the Perſians had ſuſtained by ſea. He reaſonably preſumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might eaſily become maſter of the ſea. His ſuperiority by land was in his opinion ſuperior to all reſiſtance, and as the oracles had probably adviſed him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by theſe means effectually to ſubdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he ſent to Athens Alexander, deſcended in the ſeventh degree from Perdiccas, whoſe manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I ſhall here relate:—Three brothers, Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, ſons of Temenus, fled on ſome occaſion from Argos to Illyrium,

from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the ſervice of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horſes, another of the cattle, the third and youngeſt, of the ſheep. In remoter times, the families even of kings had but little money [109], and it was the buſineſs of the queen

[109] *Little money.*]—In the time of the Trojan war, the uſe of money was not known amongſt the Greeks. Homer and Heſiod do not ſpeak of gold and ſilver money; they expreſs the value of things by ſaying, they are worth ſo many oxen or ſheep. They eſtimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its paſtures, and the quantity of its metals. See the Iliad, vii. 466.—Pope's verſion:

Each in exchange proportioned treaſures gave,
Some braſs or iron, ſome an ox or ſlave.

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. 6. v. 402.) to Itonus, king of Theſſaly, and ſon of Deucalion; others to Ericthonius king of Athens, who, as they ſay, was the ſon of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaoſthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the iſland of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and cotemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, firſt introduced the uſe of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a ſubſiſtence by commerce, as their iſland was ſo barren.

Neither gold nor ſilver were permitted at Lacedæmon. According to Athenæus, they gave the widow of king Polydonus, who reigned about 130 years before Lycurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchaſe a houſe. When Lyſander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and ſilver, but only for public neceſſities, the uſe of it amongſt individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus,

queen herself to cook for her husband [110]. When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Perdiccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before; this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers, and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him, it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. Upon this the king answered, as if heaven-struck, "I give you this sun (the light of which then came through the chimney) "as proper wages for "you." Gavanes and Æropus, the two elder

Herodotus, l. i. c. 94, says, that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasures of Crœsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi. c. 125.

It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. See Herod. l. vi. 166.—l. ix. 40.

None of the ancient money of the Lydians, Persians, &c. is now to be seen: the most ancient of those preserved in cabinets are Greek, and of the Greek the oldest are those of Amyntas, grandfather of Alexander the Greek.—*Bellanger.*

[110] *Cook for her husband.*]—A shaik, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of the victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney.*

brothers,

brothers, on hearing this, were much aſtoniſhed, but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, O king, what you offer us:" Then taking the ſword, for he had one with him, he made a circular mark with it upon that part of the ground on which the ſun ſhone, and having three ſeveral times received the light upon his boſom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable deſign in accepting what was offered. The king was much incenſed, and immediately diſpatched ſome horſemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the poſterity of thoſe men who were originally from Argos offer ſacrifices as to their preſerver. This, as ſoon as the Temenidæ had got to the oppoſite bank, ſwelled to ſo great a degree that the horſemen were unable to paſs it. The Temenidæ arriving at another diſtrict of Macedonia, fixed their reſidence near the gardens, ſaid to belong to Midas the ſon of Gordius. In theſe a ſpecies of roſe grows naturally, having ſixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance: here alſo, as the Macedonians relate, Silenus [111] was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain, called

[111] *Silenus.*]—Moſt authors affirm that he was a ſatyr: ſome confound the Sileni with the ſatyrs. Marſyas is called Silenus by ſome writers, and a ſatyr by others. There was certainly a difference betwixt them; the Sileni were the elder ſatyrs.—*Larcher.*

called Bermion, which during the winter is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterwards subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended: He was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alcetas, Alcetas of Æropus, Æropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens, Mardonius informs you "by me, that he has received a commission from "the king of the following import: 'Whatever "injuries the Athenians may have done me, I "willingly forgive: return them therefore their "country; let them add to it from any other they "may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If "they will consent to enter into an alliance with me, "you have my orders to rebuild all their temples, "which I have burned.'—It will be my business "to do all this unless you prevent me: I will now

We learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, l. iv. 460. that there was a people of Arabia called Selenitæ. It has been said that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians; see book vii. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made Caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—*T.*

"give

"give you my own ſentiments:—What infatuation "can induce you to continue your hoſtilities againſt "a king to whom you can never be ſuperior, and "whom you cannot always reſiſt: you already "know the forces and exploits of Xerxes; neither "can you be ignorant of the army under me. If "you ſhould even repel and conquer us, of which "if you be wiſe you can indulge no hope, ano- "ther army not inferior in ſtrength will ſoon ſuc- "ceed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring "to render yourſelves equal to ſo great a king, "riſk not only the loſs of your native country, but "the ſecurity of your perſons: accept, therefore, "of our friendſhip, and avail yourſelves of the pre- "ſent honourable opportunity of averting the in- "dignation of Xerxes.—Be free, and let us mutu- "tually enter into a ſolemn alliance, without fraud "or treachery. Hitherto, O Athenians, I have "uſed the ſentiments and language of Mardonius; "for my own part it cannot be neceſſary to repeat "what partiality I bear you, ſince you have ex- "perienced proofs of it before. Accept, therefore, "the terms which Mardonius offers you; you can- "not always continue your oppoſition to Xerxes; "if I thought you could, you would not now have "ſeen me. The power of the king is prodigious [112], "and extenſive beyond that of any human being.

[112] *Prodigious.*]—As the word χειρ is uſed in Greek, ſo is *manus* in Latin.

An neſcis longas regibus eſſe manus. *Larcher.*

"If you ſhall refuſe to accede to the advantageous
"propoſals which are made you, I cannot but be
"greatly alarmed for your ſafety, who are ſo much
"more expoſed to danger than the reſt of the con-
"federates, and who, poſſeſſing the region betwixt
"the two armies, muſt be involved in certain ruin.
"Let, then, my offers prevail with you as their
"importance merit, for to you alone of all the
"Greeks, the king forgives the injuries he has
"ſuſtained, wiſhing to become your friend."

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians having heard that this prince was gone to Athens to invite the Athenians to an alliance with the Perſian, were exceedingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle which foretold, that they, with the reſt of the Dorians, ſhould be driven from the Peloponneſe by a junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom therefore they loſt no time in ſending ambaſſadors. Theſe were preſent at the Athenian council, for the Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an ambaſſador was come to invite them to a confederacy with the Perſians, and would conſequently ſend deputies to be preſent on the occaſion; they therefore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians might be preſent at the declaration of their ſentiments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finiſhed ſpeaking, the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply: "We have been deputed by the Spartans, to en-

"treat you not to engage in any thing which may "operate to the injury of our common country, "nor liften to any propofitions of Xerxes; fuch a "conduct would not be equitable in itfelf, and "would be particularly bafe in you for various "reafons: you were the firft promoters of this "war, in oppofition to our opinions; it was firft "of all commenced in vindication of your liberties, "though all Greece was afterwards drawn into "the conteft. It will be moft of all intolera-"ble, that the Athenians fhould become the inftru-"ments of enflaving Greece, who, from times the "moft remote, have reftored their liberties to many. "Your prefent condition does not fail to excite in "us fentiments of the fincereft pity, who, for two "fucceffive feafons, have been deprived of the pro-"duce of your lands, and have fo long feen your "manfions in ruin. From reflecting on your "fituation, we Spartans, in conjunction with your "other allies, undertake to maintain, as long as the "war fhall continue, not only your wives, but "fuch other parts of your families as are incapable "of military fervice. Let not, therefore, this Ma-"cedonian Alexander, foftening the fentiments of "Mardonius, feduce you: the part he acts is con-"fiftent; a tyrant himfelf, he efpoufes the inte-"refts of a tyrant. If you are wife you will always "remember, that the Barbarians are always falfe "and faithlefs."

CXLIII. After the above addrefs of the Spartans, the Athenians made this reply to Alexander:

"It

"It was not at all neceſſary for you to inform us, "that the power of the Perſians was ſuperior to "our own: nevertheleſs, in defence of our liber- "ties, we will continue our reſiſtance to the utmoſt "of our abilities. You may be aſſured that your "endeavours to perſuade us into an alliance with "the Barbarians never will ſucceed: tell, there- "fore, Mardonius, on the part of the Athenians, "that as long as the ſun ſhall continue its ordinary "courſe, ſo long will we avoid any friendſhip with "Xerxes, ſo long will we continue to reſiſt him. "Tell him, we ſhall always look with confidence "to the protecting aſſiſtance of thoſe gods and "heroes whoſe ſhrines and temples he has con- "temptuouſly deſtroyed. Hereafter do not you "preſume to enter an Athenian aſſembly with "overtures of this kind, leaſt whilſt you appear to "mean us well, you prompt us to do what is "abominable[113]. We are unwilling that you "ſhould receive any injury from us, having been "our gueſt and our friend."

CXLIV. The above was the anſwer given to Alexander; after which the Athenians thus ſpoke to the Lacedæmonians: "That the Spartans ſhould

[113] *What is abominable.*]—"Our anceſtors ſo loved their country," ſays Lycurgus, "that they were very near ſtoning Alexander, the ambaſſador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, becauſe he required of them earth and water."

It was the circumſtance of their being united to him by the ties of hoſpitality, which induced the Athenians to ſpare his life. See my note on the ancient rites of hoſpitality.—*T.*

" fear our entering into an alliance with the Bar-
" barians ſeems natural enough; but in doing
" this, as you have had ſufficient teſtimonies of
" Athenian firmneſs, you certainly did us injury.
" There is not upon earth a quantity of gold, nor
" any country ſo rich or ſo beautiful, as to ſeduce
" us to take part with the Medes, or to act inju-
" riouſly to the liberties of Greece. If of ourſelves
" we were ſo inclined, there ſtill exiſt many im-
" portant circumſtances to deter us: in the firſt
" place, and what is of all motives the moſt
" powerful, the ſhrines and temples of our deities,
" conſumed by fire, and levelled with the ground,
" prompt us to the proſecution of a juſt revenge,
" and manifeſtly compel us to reject every idea of
" forming an alliance with him who perpetrated
" theſe impieties. In the next place, our common
" conſanguinity, our uſing the ſame language, our
" worſhip of the ſame divinities, and our practice
" of the ſame religious ceremonies, render it im-
" poſſible that the Athenians ſhould prove perfidi-
" ous. If you knew it not before, be ſatisfied now,
" that as long as one Athenian ſhall ſurvive, we
" will not be friends with Xerxes; in the mean
" time, your intereſt in our fortunes, your concern
" for the ruin of our manſions, and your offers to
" provide for the maintenance of our families, de-
" mand our gratitude, and may be conſidered as
" the perfection of generoſity. We will, how-
" ever, bear our misfortunes as we may be
" able, and not be troubleſome to you; be it your
" care

" care to bring your forces into the field as expedi-
" tiouſly as poſſible; it is not probable that the
" Barbarian will long defer his invaſion of our
" country, he will be upon us as ſoon as he ſhall
" be informed that we have rejected his propoſals:
" before he ſhall be able to penetrate into Attica,
" it becomes us to advance to the aſſiſtance of
" Bœotia."

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL